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THE ROLE OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By

SHARON FRYER ©

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTERS IN EDUCATION

IN

INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1994

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DEGREE: MASTER OF EDUCATION

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1994

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for the acceptance a thesis entitled: The Role of Canadian Universities in International Development: A Comparative Case Study of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia, submitted by Sharon Fryer in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in International /Intercultural Education.

Dr. M.K. Bacchus, Co-Supervisor

Dr. Swee-Hin Toh, Co-Supervisor

Dr. T. R. Carson

Dr. Marilyn Assheton-Smith

Date: April 21, 1994

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the radical international students at the University of Alberta who counterbalanced my schooling with a highly insightful education, and convinced me that the Western world still has much to learn about development. To those Liberals who refer to radical students as 'cranks', you have forgotten that "the crank is an object that makes revolutions" (Alinsky, 1989:20).

ABSTRACT

This research involved a theoretical and practical exploration of Canadian universities' role in international development in relation to Canada's Official Development Assistance policies. Using case studies of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia, and their international development activities between 1950-1987, the study focused on four major areas of concern:

1) political and economic factors which influenced the establishment of Canadian universities' involvement in international development.
2) Canadian universities' current development role through ICDS partnerships with Third World educational institutions
3) the impact of the current 'internationalization' movement in education on Canadian universities' involvement in international development
4) the strengths and limitations of Canadian universities' role in international development for facilitating social change

Three main research instruments were used to obtain relevant data for the study. Content analyses of education and development policy documents from CIDA, the two provincial Ministries of Education, and the two universities were conducted to evaluate the impact of these development policies on Canadian universities' academic and development mandates. Statistical data from AUCC, CIDA, and the ICDS Branch was used to compare and contrast the development roles of University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia's with national trends. Personal interviews with program officers from CIDA, ICDS, University of Alberta, and the University of British Columbia, were conducted by the researcher in order to examine perceptions of the university's role in international development at an institutional level.

The study examined international development activities of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia from 1950 to 1991 in order to trace the source and direction of change in their development roles and the implications for future academic and development pursuits. Three principal findings were revealed in the research.

First, it was evident that the development roles of the University of Alberta, the University of British Columbia, and other Canadian institutions have been greatly influenced by the historical legacy of the first three development decades which were driven by on modernization and human capital theories of development.

Secondly, the source of change in the current development roles of Canadian universities can be attributed to three key factors: the shift from industrial to information-based economies in OECD nations; the demand for increased global competitiveness through applied research and development, and a growing demand for fiscal accountability in higher education. These factors have exerted tremendous pressure on universities to expand their participation in international economic development.

The direction of change in the universities' development role is witnessed in the growing movement among OECD nations to 'internationalize' higher education. Canadian universities have responded by adopting varying models of internationalization such as the corporate, the liberal-democratic and the social transformation models. Based on the findings of this study, it appears that at an institutional level, the international development activities of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia fall mainly within the parameters of the corporate and liberal-democratic models of internationalization. The implications of this trend are a decline in institutional partnerships in the Third World and a corresponding decline in student enrollment from these countries, followed by an increase in university/business partnerships and rapid growth in applied research and development initiatives. The likely outcome is the increasing commodification of knowledge for profit.

Three key factors limit the ability of Canadian universities to facilitate social change in the context of international institutional linkages. First, it is highly unlikely that educational institutions can institute socially transformative development policies in the context of a highly bureaucratic infrastructure and a competitive free market economy driven by capitalist ideology. Their impact on political change is further limited by the absence of a national educational policy and institutionalized development policies. In conclusion, it is argued that if higher education is to play a significant role in a socially transformative model of international development, a dramatic conceptual shift in Canadian education and development ideologies and practices is required.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I extend my gratitude to Dr. I. Alladin, for sparking my interest in Global Education which set me on a journey that has enriched my professional and personal life in countless ways. I wish to acknowledge the continuous cooperation provided by my co-supervisors, Dr. M.K. Bacchus and Dr. Toh Swee-Hin during my work on this thesis. Further appreciation is extended to the members of my supervisory committee, Dr. Assheton-Smith and and Dr. Terry Carson for their advice and guidance. Their commitment to international development, global education and peace education enhanced my learning experiences at the University immeasurably.

I also wish to thank the eight members of Faculty of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia for their participation in the research. Their personal insights into international linkages were an integral component of the study. Special thanks are extended to the staff of UBC International Liaison Office, Alberta International, the University of Alberta, and the secretarial staff of the Department of Educational Foundations for their continuous support of the research. To the staff at the University of Alberta International Center, I owe a special debt of gratitude for allowing me to reflect upon my research through lengthy dialogues with them.

Finally, I extend my gratitude to my family and my friends Diane von Schilling, Emurwon Olupot, Judy Waudo, Julius Enon, Mr. and Mrs. Opio, Mr. and Mrs. John Anchan, Margaret Adair, and Margo Johnston who generously gave their time and attention to support me throughout the elaborate research and writing process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION I: THE SOURCE OF CHANGE IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES' INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ROLES

CHAPTER 0NE

1.0 Introduction to the Study 1
1.1 Background To The Study 3
1.2 The Objectives of the Study 9
1.3 The Research Question 10
1.4 The Organization of the Study 11
1.5 Limitations of the Study 13

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Introduction 15
2.1 Higher Education and Development : A Theoretical Perspective 16
2.2 Canadian Development Policies: An Historical Perspective 21
2.3 The Internationalization of Higher Education: Competing Paradigms of Development 32
2.4 Models of Internationalization: Towards A Framework for Analysis 36

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Introduction to Research Design and Methodology 46
3.1 Data Collection Methods 48
3.2 Analysis of Education and Development Policies 48
3.3 Analysis of Education and Development Statistics 50
3.4 Analysis of Personal Interviews and Informal Dialogues 51

SECTION II: THE DIRECTION OF CHANGE IN CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES' INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ROLES: CASES STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Introduction To Data Analysis 56
4.1 Analysis of CIDA's Aid Policies for the 90s 58
4.2 Transforming Development Policies into Practice An Analysis of ICDS Policies and Practices 72
4.3 The Implications of Change for Canadian Universities 87
4.4 Conclusion 95

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 An Introduction to the Case Studies 97
5.1 Economic and Political Sources of Change in Alberta 99
5.2 The Direction of Change: The University of Alberta's Mission 102
5.3 Transforming Development Policies to Educational Practice 120
5.4 The Impact of Change : Conclusions 129

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Economic and Political Sources of Change in British Columbia 132
6.1 The Direction of Change: UBC Mission 133
6.2 Transforming Theory Into Practice 141
6.3 UBC Participation in ICDS Projects 143
6.4 The Impact of Change: Conclusions 154

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 The Implications of Change: Summary and Conclusions 157
7.1 Re-visiting the Research Question 158
7.2 The Implications of Change for Canadian Universities 166
7.3 Towards a Re-conceptualization of Development Partnerships 167
7.4 Conclusion: Universities as Agents of Change 171

BIBLIOGRAPHY 172-187

APPENDICES 188-224
Appendix I: Abbreviations and Acronyms xii
Appendix: CIDA Organizational Structure 188
Appendix III: Education and Development Policy Documents 189
Appendix IV:Educational and Development Statistical Documents 192
Appendix V: Summary of Bilateral HRD Linkage Projects 194
Appendix VI: Interview Guide 195
Appendix VII: U of A Linkage Agreement 196
Appendix VIII: UBC Linkage Agreement 199
Appendices IX: : U of A Perceptions of
Universities' Academic and Development Roles 201
Appendices X: UBC Perceptions of Universities
Academic and Development Roles 214
Appendix XI: ICDS Linkages 224

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Three Models of Internationalization 225
Table 2: Comparison of Regional Distribution of EIP Projects 228
Table 3: CIDA-funded Students Studying in Canada 1989 229
Table 4: Summary of CIDA/ICDS Perceptions of Universities' Role 230
Table 5: Regional Distribution of U. of A. International Linkages 1992 232
Table 6: Regional Distribution of International Students at U. Of A. 1992 233
Table 7: Summary of Development Roles in UA ICDS Projects 1992 234
Table 8: Regional Distribution of UBC International Linkages 1992 235
Table 9: Regional Distribution of International Students at UBC 1992 236
Table 10: Summary of UBC ICDS Projects and Canadian ODA 237

APPENDIX 1: ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAE	Alberta Advanced Education
AHFMR	Alberta Heritage Foundation for Medical Research
ASEAN	Association for Southeast Asian Nations
ASIPID	Alberta Summer Institute for Petroleum Industry Development
ARC	Alberta Research Council
AUCC	Association of Universities, Colleges of Canada
CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education
CCI	Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta
CEA	Canadian Executing Agency
CERID	Centre for International Education Research, Innovation and Development, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal
CFTC	Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation
CIBS	Canadian Institute for Business Studies, University of Alberta
CICUE	Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIED	Centre for International Education and Development, University of Alberta
CINS	Canadian Institute for Nordic Studies, University of Alberta
CUE	Canadian University Exchange (database)
CUPID	Canadian University Projects in International Development, (database)
CUSS	Centre Universitaire des Sciences de la Sante, University of Yaounde, Cameroon
DRII	Development of Regional Industrial Innovation, EATIC
EATIC	External Affairs and International Trade Canada
ECC	Economic Council of Canada
EFA	Education For All, Jomtien 1990 World Conference
EPF	Educational Program Funding, Canadian federal government funding to post-secondary educational institutions
EIP	Educational Institutions Program, CIDA
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FIGA	Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Alberta Government
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GATT-Fly	Ecumencial Coalition for Economic Justice
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GNP	Gross National Product
HRD	Human resource development
HRM	Human resource management
HRU	Human resource utilization
IAU	International Association of Universities
ICDS	Institutional Cooperation for Development Division, CIDA
IDC	Club IDC (Issues in Developing Countries), University of Alberta
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IDRC	International Development Research Council
ILO	International Labor Organization
ILO	International Liaison Office, University of Alberta, UBC
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Less developed country (CIDA ODA designation)
LLDC	Least developed country (CIDA ODA designation)
MAETT	Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology, British Columbia
MRC	Medical Research Council, Canada
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGI	Non-governmental institution
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NIC	Newly industrialized country
NSERC	National Science and Engineering Research Council, Canada
OAS	Organization of American States
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OGDC	Pakistan Oil and Gas Development project, University of Alberta
PEMD	Promotion of Exports in Manufacturing and Development grants to business and universities, EATIC
R&D	Research and Development
RSC	Royal Society of Canada
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program, World Bank, CIDA, IMF
SCC	Science Council of Canada
SSFC	Social Science Federation of Canada
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canada
SPB	Special Programs Branch, CIDA
UA	University of Alberta

UBC	University of British Columbia
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WUSC	World University Service of Canada

CHAPTER ONE

We are witness to an unfolding drama with few critics and perhaps no audience. Many academic workers are caught up like extras in a film with a plot unknown to them. This makes critical debate unlikely.

Janice Newson & Howard Buchbinder
The University Means Business

1.0 Introduction to the Study

This study examines the changing role of Canadian universities in international development. Since the Cold War era, educational institutions have increasingly been drawn into the development process by national and international political organizations seeking to use education as a tool for stimulating economic growth in less developed countries (LDCs). The demands for a new global economic order have broadened the scope of the university's role even further. However, the direction of change which that role has taken can be attributed to two key factors: as a result of the recent shift in CIDA's foreign aid policies to accelerate democratic reform in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and a growing movement among OECD nations to stimulate economic growth by "internationalizing" higher education, universities find themselves being challenged to align their teaching and research functions to foster rapid scientific and technological innovations. At the same time, there is an expectation that the university's community service mandate will also encompass global human rights and environmental sustainability. The divergent and contradictory nature of these trends in internationalization and development policies are symptomatic of a larger ideological conflict between liberal-democratic paradigms and corporate capitalist models of internationalization. In turn, these contradictions are reflected in Canadian universities' ad hoc development practices.

The increasing intervention of business in international development has created a multimillion dollar aid industry in which liberal development paradigms compete with corporate rationalities. In this context, the world's poor are perceived as "the market," Canadian development services as "the product" which will eradicate poverty, and "the profit" as the improved quality of life for the Third World (IDRC, 1985: 8). The global transition in OECD nations from industrial-based to information-based economies and Canada's growing fiscal debt has created an urgent demand for the consumption of the university's teaching and research services. And, as Canadian and foreign government agencies and the private business sector seek out partnerships with universities to design and market tailor-made education and development programs, educational institutions find themselves being drawn more deeply into the business of development. Therefore it is evident that the current internationalization and development trends represent a critical challenge to the universities' traditional academic and development roles and the future of institutional linkages in the Third World.

However, while the economic and political motivations of government and the private business sector are evident in their current development policies and practices,[1] The universities' rationale for involvement is not as clearly defined. Historically, their "responsive" role in development can be attributed to two key factors, namely the lack of a national educational policy in Canada and the absence of institutional development policies, in many Canadian and Third World universities. This initial reflexivity can be rationalized as an outcome of the external demand for their services before they had an opportunity to establish institutional development policies. However, forty years later, many universities continue to operate development programs in the absence of critical dialogue and institutional policies. This practice has made their academic and development roles extremely vulnerable to the influences of external economic and political forces seeking to use their human and physical resources to strengthen the link between aid and trade. The expansion of the universities' development roles in the absence of conceptual reflexiveness and their failure to critically question the practical implications of certain development tenets is dangerous. The view that development activities sponsored through educational institutions are purely an intellectual and self-contained pursuit is simply shortsighted and unacceptable.

This study accepts as a given that education is inherently political and that universities, by the inherent nature of their academic functions, are agents of social change. A university cannot define itself solely in relation to science and technology; the pursuit of knowledge inevitably relates to practice which in turn, influences social action. It is at this critical juncture where theory and practice intersect that the greatest opportunity for self-reflection arises (Habermas, 1970:50). Thus, the illumination of the intimate relationship between any theory of knowledge and political practice has both theoretical and practical value. The intent of this study is to facilitate this process of critical reflection by examining

---

[1] For an in-depth discussion of the Canadian government's recommendations for re-structuring education for global competitiveness and its rationale in promoting university-business partnerships see Barney, Gerald, 1981. Global 2000: Implications for Canada. Toronto: Pergamon Press; Newton, K. & J. P. Voyer rapporteurs,1990. The Perspective 2000 Conference: A Synopsis. Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada; and Government of Canada, 1991. Competitiveness and Prosperity.
For discussion of reduction and re-allocation of government funding to higher education see Government of Canada. 1991. Federal and Provincial Support to Post-Secondary Education in Canada: A Report to Parliament 1990-1991; and Feb. 1991 Realizing the Potential: A Strategy for University Research in Canada, a report submitted by the University Research Committee of the Royal Society of Canada.

examining the source and direction of change in the international development roles of two Canadian universities.

1.1 Background To The Study

University involvement in international development at the institutional level was initiated in 1978 when the Educational Partnership Program (EIP) was incorporated into CIDA's Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Division. Institutional linkage programs between Canadian and LDC universities were coordinated through EIP's Institutional Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS) Division with the objectives to:

- support Canadian educational institutions in their efforts to assist their counterparts in developing countries contribute more effectively to their countries' high priority development needs
- to encourage the development and transfer of knowledge and experience from Canadian educational institutions for the benefit of developing institutions
- to encourage two-way partnerships between Canadian educational institutions and developing country institutions (EIP Evaluation Report, 1992: 9-10)

The contradictions in development ideologies is clearly illustrated in the EIP's intent to foster "two-way partnerships" through technology transfer programs delivered by Canadian institutions. A 1980 study conducted by Professor Tossel of Guelph University illustrated an apparent support of this concept of "partnerships." Although the majority of Faculty members surveyed at Canadian universities indentified world need as the major motivating factor for humanitarian involvement in international development, they also supported the use of Canadian knowledge, expertise, and resources as a viable strategy to enhance the development of leadership and self-reliance in the Third World.[2] This perspective was reiterated in CIDA policy statements during the 1980s. Since 1988, institutional linkages have been guided by Canada's four basic development principles as outlined in the document Sharing Our Future (1988: 3; CIDA,1992: 16):

---

[2] Dr. Tossel's research was based on the development activities of 532 faculty members at 33 Canadian universities.

1. **Putting Poverty First**
   the primary purpose of Official Development Assistance is to help the poorest countries of the world.
2. **Helping People to Help Themselves**
   Canadian Development Assistance aims to strengthen the ability of people and institutions in developing countries to solve their own problems in harmony with the natural environment.
3. **Development Priorities Must Prevail**
   in setting objectives for the Aid program. As long as these priorities are met, aid objectives may take into account other foreign goals.
4. **Partnership is the Key**
   to fostering the links between Canada's people and institutions and those of the Third World.

Until the recent shift in CIDA policy, the following development priorities also outlined in Sharing Our Future were used by the CIDA Country Desks, and EIP staff, in consultation with the Association of Universities and Canadian Colleges (AUCC), as criteria for the selection and funding of university linkage project proposals:

- poverty alleviation
- structural adjustment policies "with a human face"
- strengthening the role of women in development
- environmentally sound and ecologically-sustainable development
- food security
- energy availability

(CIDA,1988: 6; EIP,1992: 15)

The establishment of these "partnerships" was facilitated through CIDA's ICDS Division, whose main objective was to promote institutional strengthening through educational linkages between Canadian and Third World universities and colleges. In 1992, 126 university linkage projects were funded through the Educational Institutions Program (EIP,1992: 9; CIDA,1992: 16).

However, the character and direction of ICDS linkages with Third World institutions are being strongly influenced by internal and external economic and political forces which threaten the sustainability of these projects. As a direct result of the dramatic changes in Canadian foreign aid policies, the goal of poverty alleviation outlined in Sharing

Our Future has been usurped by strategic technocratic development policies created to simultaneously foster Canadian economic growth and facilitate democratic reform in recipient countries. Thus a large portion of Canadian aid has been re-directed to Eastern Europe where a more lucrative market for business investments has opened up. In a leaked External Affairs document, Toronto Globe & Mail journalist Michael Valpy quotes from a memorandum to cabinet in March, 1992 which states that:

> "Canadian assistance is predicated first on our national interest, including the enhancement of our security and the development of democratic regimes and market economies compatible with our own. And second, on burden-sharing responsibilities of the G-7 and G-24 [an IMF group on development assistance]... Canada's willingness to assist [other countries] will also safeguard our influence and our bilateral commercial interest... the Prime Minister has stated on several occasions, including at Stanford University in 1992, that Canada's engagement in providing support for reform in the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern European countries is for the long haul."
> (Valpy, Toronto Globe & Mail, "The aid that Canada will not be giving." March 4, 1993)

On March 3, 1993, the Canadian Conservative government made good its threat to reduce foreign aid to the Third World by announcing that all bilateral aid to Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Madagascar would be eliminated for 1993-94 (Toronto Globe & Mail March 3, 1993 "Canadian cuts costly setback to Ugandans"). These radical cuts in foreign aid to the Third World have seriously jeopardized the sustainability of a number of bilateral and ICDS programs currently in place in these countries and reflect an ominous future for Canadian and Third World institutional linkages in general.

The economic and political pressures on higher education to meet the demands of the new international economic order, are exascerbated by Canada's rising debt. Canada has the dubious honour of having the largest fiscal debt per capita, held abroad, of any country in the world, therefore the need for expansion in foreign trade and maintenance of positive international relations has added a new dimension to Canadian foreign aid policies. The outcome is that the Canadian government is increasingly shifting its attention away from the Third World, and the universities appear to be following suit.

In August, 1989, Prime Minister Mulroney called for "a collective study of our educational system, its relation to Canadian competitiveness and its relevance to the international challenges of the year 2000" (Department of Secretary of State,1992: 4). Despite the absence of a national educational policy, the federal government has succeeded in influencing Canadian universities to align their academic agendas with national political objectives by exerting economic pressure through the re-structuring of educational programs funding (EPF) to universities, R&D funding, and national and international scholarships programs. Agencies such as the National Science Research Council (NSERC) and the Social Science Council (SSC), which are responsible for the allocation of government funds in the support of university research, have increasingly shifted their policies in favour of joint applied research with Canadian industry for the development of globally competitive technologies (Valerie Shore, *University Affairs*, December, 1986). In addition, Bill C-93, the abolition of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) was introduced in the 1992 budget in Parliament as a measure to streamline the funding process by transferring its functions to the Canada Council (SSFC, April 1993. Vol. 5 #1: 1). The ultimate aim appeared to be an attempt to align SSHRC funding policies with the new External Affairs and Trade policies which emphasized the need for active cooperation between universities and industry in the field of research. Despite intensive lobbying against the Bill by the Social Science Federation of Canada (SSFC), it reached third reading in the House of Commons. However, the bill was eventually defeated in the Senate due to the instrumental effort of the Liberal Party (Wasilewski, 1993).

It is evident that as Canada undergoes its own process of structural adjustment, the government and the business sector will continue to exert greater efforts to tap the human and physical resources of universities as a catalyst for economic growth. In the May 1991 Speech from the Throne in the Parliament of Canada, the Prosperity Agenda cited educational achievement as a major factor in determining Canada's competitiveness in a global economy. As a result, it was recommended that in light of scarce public resources, new partnerships with the private sector and other institutions abroad should be explored (Department of Secretary of State, 1992). Unlike the EIP "partnerships" however, the government as been quite candid in its expectations of these relationships. This shift in development partnerships can also be witnessed in the movement to internationalize higher education, and OECD has cited this movement as a major trend of the 1990s. What is most significant about this trend however, is dramatic shift in institutional linkages from the least developed countries (LLDCs) in the Third World to newly developed countries (NICs), and the rapidly increasing number of partnerships between Canadian universities and institutions in the Pacific Rim, Eastern Europe and Germany.

The underlying impetus for this change has been a concerted effort by internal and external economic and political forces seeking to capitalize on the human and physical resources of higher education institutions for the expansion of global networks and enhancement of national and international economic competitiveness. This increasing penetration of capitalist values and corporatist practices into Canadian university environment has created a new regime of "institutional-capitalism" which is fuelling both internal and external market competition among faculties and institutions in their drive to build alliances with the business sector (Pannu et al., 1992: 23). The result has been an increasing effort by the government and the business sector to commodify and market knowledge and information, using Canadian universities as the delivery mechanism for human resource development (HRD) projects. This increasing pressure on Canadian universities to develop partnerships with more developed countries and the private business sector is re-defining the functions of research and community service. For example, at a Toronto area Higher Education Seminar, William Cochrane, senior vice-president of Guaranty Trust Company of Canada, went so far as to advocate that "A professor's ability to generate funds should be one of the conditions for tenure" (Toronto Globe & Mail, November 3, 1986).

The changing forces of production, which have emerged globally as a result of the transition from industrial to information-based economies, have drawn Canadian universities more deeply into the highly complex economic and political international arena. In this context, liberal models of education are no longer perceived as functional; it is also likely that competitive models of internationalization will continue to expand because of Canadian universities' responsive development practices. By focusing on the market forces of development, they have failed to recognize and understand the role which government and the private business sector have played in the transformation of their development goals. The danger of such shortsighted policies and practices is the increased marginalization of education and development projects in the Third World which are perceived as neither economically lucrative or academically prestigious. Not only does this trend challenge the universities' current academic and development roles, in the absence of critical dialogue or institutional policy-making, universities run the risk of becoming nothing more than "an important piece of political real estate" (Heyns, 1968: 26).

It is acknowledged that Canadian universities have played an active role in international development however, it must also be acknowledged that the impact of institutional linkages is limited in the context of the current economic and political climate. Development is a highly interdependent and multi-faceted process which affects all participants in diverse ways. Research in this area is therefore necessary and useful. However, while extensive qualitative research has been undertaken to analyse the impact of ICDS linkages on Third World institutions, minimal attention has been given impact which these "partnerships" have on Canadian universities. The limitations of previous research may be attributed to the assumption that universities are autonomous from the capitalist relations of production (Beverley,1978: 67). Therefore it is evident that a broader relations of production (Beverley,1978: 67). Therefore it is evident that a broader theoretical framework is needed to guide this research. Habermas' critical theory provides a useful starting point from which we can subject to critical discussion, "both the attitudes of political consequences and motives that form the university as a scientific institution and a social organization" (1970:9). The models of university internationalization formulated by Warner (1992), Chapman (1983), Maxwell-Curie (1984), Castles and Wustenberg (1979) and Newson and Buchbinder (1988) provide more specific criteria for developing a practical theoretical framework for critically analysing the educational policies and practices of CIDA, ICDS, the two Ministries of Education, and the two universities' used as case studies in this research.

However, it is not realistic to attempt to paint a national picture of Canadian universities' role in international development for two reasons. First, each province exercises its autonomy in the jurisdiction of education. Secondly, by nature of its geographic scale, regional, economic disparities and political structures, Canada's educational policies and practices are reflective of the distinct concerns of each province, thus each university's education and development strategies tend to follow a resource-specific rather than an integrated national pattern. Although development projects implemented through Canadian universities are highly influenced by federal foreign policy and, to a lessening degree, are dependent on federal government funding, the format of ICDS and international development projects are influenced more by local historical, social, political and economic factors within the province and the existing social and economic conditions in their development partner's country. Therefore, it is necessary to examine each development role in the context of its unique social, economic and political environment. This study focuses on the international development activities of two Western Canadian universities.

The University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia were chosen as case studies for this study because their long history of institutional linkages provides a longitudinal view of the source and direction of change in the university's international development role. In addition, their strong provincial economic links in the Pacific Rim reveal insights into the influence of economic interests of the provincial governments and the private business sector on the university's academic and international development practices.

In order to gain a better understanding of the emergence, character and direction which these universities' international development roles have taken, the study traces international linkages from 1989-1992. While all Canadian universities share some common elements in their development mission statements, the divergence in department level, is evident in the divergence in regional distribution of project and on implementation practices of international linkages. Although this study is based on the assumption that this divergence in development policies and practices is a reflection of the complex social, economic and political environments within which these universities operate, it is also assumed that the case studies of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia can offer some insights into understanding the role which other Canadian universities' play in international development. A micro-analysis of development practices is conducted through personal interviews with each university's ICDS project coordinators and international liaison officers in order to complement to the macro-analysis of education and development policies of CIDA, ICDS, the two universities and their provincial Ministries of Advanced Education.

1.2 The Objectives of the Study

This study is composed of two parts which use theoretical and practical levels of analysis to address ethical issues related to the university's involvement in development. These issues are examined on three levels: philosophical, organizational and behavioural. While numerous evaluations of institutional linkages have dealt with ethical issues relating organizational and infrastructural concerns, rarely have the linkages been examined in an integrated fashion. Therefore, this study attempts to give adequate consideration to the epistemological, theoretical and organizational foundations of these development partnerships. The first part of the study examines the role of Canadian universities in international development on a theoretical level reveal how the legacy of previous development eras have influenced educational policies and shaped their current role. By understanding the emergence of their role in development, it becomes easier to trace the current path of their partnerships. A critical question at this juncture is whether Canadian universities played a proactive or reactive role in their development linkages with educational institutions in the Third World. At a practical level, a micro-perspective of universities' development roles helps to delineate the individual history, social, economic and political factors which have influenced the implementation of these development practices at the institutional level.

A major intention of the study is to examine the influence of CIDA's changing development policies and the increasing intervention of business in the education and development policies and practices of these two universities. The research is guided by four major areas of concern which examine their development roles from economic and political perspectives:

1. identification of political and economic factors which shaped Canadian universities' role in international development between 1950-1988.
2. the influence of CIDA's changing development policies on Canadian universities' current role in international development.
3. the impact of the current internationalization of higher education movement on ICDS linkages.
4. the strengths and limitations of the universities' role in international development in the current economic and political climate.

Because the adoption of positivist scientific methodology in research, has the potential to commit the researcher to an unselfconscious instrumentalist perspective (Hamnett et al., 1984: 40), this study follows methodological practices supported critical theory. It is argued that all research must be understood in the social, cultural, economic and political context in which it was developed and conducted. By presenting alternative models of internationalization for critical examination of the university's development roles, it is hoped that this research will encourage academics to pursue collaborative critical inquiry of their teaching, research and development practices in relation to institutional linkages. Through this process of self-reflection, the critical inquiry research process has the potential to be self-sustaining.

1.3 The Research Question

This study seeks to address the major research question:

> How is the role of Canadian universities in international development influenced by CIDA's changing aid policies and the increasing intervention of business in education and development?

A number of key questions arise in relation to the major research question:

1. How are Canadian universities' development roles related to their academic mandates of teaching, research and community service?

2. To what degree have the universities' development missions become integrated with their academic missions?
3. Are Canadian universities' development goals compatible with their academic goals?
4. Why do universities become involved in international linkages ?

Arising from these concerns, were additional questions which directed the attention of the research towards examination of the following issues:

1. Do Canadian universities serve the same educational, economic and political functions as their development partners in the Third World ?
2. Are Canadian universities' development goals compatible with Third World universities' development goals?
3. Do institutional linkages facilitate reciprocal exchanges of knowledges.
4. Do Third World institutions have the economic or political decision-making power to influence regional and national development policies and practices?
5. How are Third World universities' role in development affected by regional social, cultural, economic and political factors?

1.4 The Organization of the Study

This study is both analytical and exploratory; it critically examines the source and direction of change in two Canadian universities' development roles through institutional linkages and discusses the implications for future educational practice. The preceding discussion identified the key sources of change in the universities' development role and outlined the objectives which guided the research.

Chapter Two charts the direction of the change in the universities' development role by addressing the four major areas of concern. The first major concern which focuses on the national and international development, legacies, provides an historical perspective and a theoretical framework for the analysis of the two case studies through an extensive literature review and content analysis of government documents. The history of Canadian Official Development Assistance Policy from 1950-1987 traces the influence of American and British foreign policies on Canadian foreign policies and illustrates how Canadian ODA and institutional linkages were affected by these trends. The economic and political legacies of the preceding development eras clearly illustrate the roots of advanced capitalist power and help clarify how current economic and political forces have shaped CIDA's development policies. It also shows how these external forces have influenced education in Canadian and LDC universities and the social consciousness of people. In the context of an increasingly technocratic global society, education is held in high regard as a powerful tool in shaping human and physical resources for economic development.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology used in this study and defines key education and development terms and theoretical concepts which are used extensively throughout the document. In order to clarify some of the ambiguities created when certain development terms which are often used synonymously, this study limits the use of development terminology to those concepts outlined in this Chapter. However, comparative analysis of education and development is used throughout the study to illustrate how a lack of consensus about key concepts has created conflicts in development policies and practices.

In order to establish a better understanding of the direction which Canadian universities' current development roles are taking, Chapters Four, Five, and Six explore the two universities' development policies and practices on both macro and micro- levels of analysis. Chapter Four begins with a macro-analysis of changing CIDA and ICDS policies, and the the influence of the internationalization of higher education movement on Canadian universities. Critical analysis of key CIDA and ICDS policy documents provides insights into the increasing interdependence among governments, the private sector and universities which have increasingly blurred the boundaries between education and training. In addition, the changing relationship between Canadian universities and their buffer organizations, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) is also explored in this context to demonstrate the impact of corporate influence and the implications for teaching and research. There is mounting evidence that the penetration of government and business in these organizations is challenging their traditional mediative role, thus leaving universities more vulnerable to external political forces.

Chapters Five and Six proceed in a micro-analysis of international development policies and practices through case studies of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia. The development role of each university is examined in-depth at a theoretical level, through content analysis of their academic development mission statements. At a practical level, the study examines their academic and international development activities in the context of CIDA's international linkage programs. Interviews with each university's ILO officers and ICDS project coordinators, are used to shed light on the influence of CIDA's changing policies and business interests at a micro-level. This section of the study focuses on international linkages and ICDS projects because they offer the greatest insights into the process by which universities transfer CIDA's development policies and OECD internationalization objectives into educational practice.

Chapter Seven concludes with a summary of the source and direction of change in the international development policies and practices of the University of British Columbia and the University of Alberta in relation to the research questions in order to determine the depth and breadth of government and business influences on the universities' development roles. The strengths and limitations of the models of internationalization which they are currently using is presented to draw inferences to national trends. The study then concludes with a discussion of the implications of economic and political changes in aid policies and practices for the future of institutional linkages between Canadian and Third World universities. Since the major objective of the study is to generate open critical and reflective dialogues among faculty students and the larger education and development community, recommendations for future action are limited to strategies for creating a climate for further critical inquiry.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The issue is not whether Canadian universities should be involved in international development but rather how best they can participate in order to maximize the educational and development experiences for Canadian and Third World institutions. Ideally, research on this issue should provide a national comparative analysis of the Canadian university's involvement in international development, however, the scope of the study was limited by four factors. First and foremost, financial and time constraints limited theresearch to the examination of development roles of two Canadian universities. While both institutions have been influenced by national and international policies, each university is also a product of its own unique historical, social, economic and political forces therefore, the degree of generalisability to other Canadian educational institutions is limited. To provide a more balanced perspective of education and development strategies in Canadian universities relevant description of other institutions' policies and practices have been incorporated wherever possible.[3]

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[3] For an overview of Canadian universities' involvement in international development through CIDA, see University Partnerships in a Changing World: Conference Proceedings. Sept. 20-21/90, Vancouver, B.C. (Ania Wasilewski ed. 1991). Profile: Administrative structures for international cooperation at Canadian Universities. Ottawa: AUCC.

Secondly, restricted access to CIDA, ICDS, provincial government and university documents limited the critical evaluation of development policies, and the comparative analysis of institutional linkages was restricted to documentation of the Canadian partners' perspectives as an attempt to conduct evaluations and interviews in the Third World institutions was beyond the scope of this study. However, research is this field remains, critical, especially if partnership agreements, ICDS linkages, and faculty and student exchanges continue to be promoted under the umbrella of internationalization and development.

Finally, it is acknowledged that there are significant limitations to critical theory. While it is a more reflexive process of critical inquiry which has the potential to liberate research participants for emancipatory social action by enhancing their consciousness and understanding of the existing social reality, it is admittedly limited in its guidance for socially transformative practice. However, its validity as a process for research is well-documented. Critical theory functions best when it initiates a process of self-reflection within groups and assists in their interpretation and critical understanding of their own conditions, thus leading to the seek appropriate strategies for action.

However, this does not imply that research determines or legitimizes strategies for action. Habermas argues that:

> The organization of action must be distinguished from this process of enlightenment. While the theory legitimizes the work of enlightenment,... it can by no means legitimize *a fortiori* the risky decisions of strategic action. Decisions...cannot at the outset be justified theoretically and then carried out organizationally. The sole possible justification at this level is consensus, aimed at practical discourse, among the participants, who, in the consciousness of their common interests and their knowledge of the circumstances, of predictable consequences and secondary consequences, are the only ones who can know what risks they are willing to undergo, and with what expectations. (Habermas, 1973: 33)

The central concern of critical theorists is emancipatory social action which improves human existence. This concern is derived from Marx who argued that:

> we do not anticipate the world dogmatically, but rather wish to find the new world through criticism of the old... even though the construction of the future and its completion for all times is not our task. What we have to accomplish is relentless criticism of all existing conditions, relentless in the sense that the criticism is not afraid of its findings and just as little afraid of the conflict with the powers that be.
> (Hamnett et al., 1984: 212)

CHAPTER TWO

> ...one of the radical differences between education as a dominating force and a dehumanizing task, and education as a humanistic and liberating task is that the former is a pure act of transference of knowledge whereas the latter is an act of knowledge.
>
> Paulo Freire
> The Politics of Education

2.0 **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to track the emergence and direction of Canadian universities' role in international development in relation to evolving development and internationalization paradigms. This process of role transformation is documented through a critical survey of relevant government, business and educational literature on development theories, which examines the impact of economic and political forces on universities' education and development practices.

The competition between development and internationalization movements to capture and direct the physical and human resources of higher education for economic growth can be traced back to the modernization and human capital paradigms of the early 1950s. Therefore, this time period is used as a starting point for the discussion which begins by critically examining the source and rationale of key assumptions which facilitated the theoretical link between the academic functions of higher education and the development.goals of human capital and modernization paradigms. The analysis also extends to examination of other development paradigms which guided the first institutional linkages between Canadian and Third World universities.

Section 2.2 provides an historical overview of the development decades from a Canadian perspective by examining the impact of external and internal social, economic and political forces on Canadian ODA. Examination of Canadian development policies and practices from 1950-1980 reveals the influence of liberal democratic development paradigms which were the major rationale for the expansion of the universities' in role in the international development process. Later, these trends were a significant factor in legitimizing the emerging internationalization movement in higher education in the 1980s.

Section 2.3 examines the theoretical assumptions underlying the movement to internationalize universities in relation to the universities' development role. Although the terms "development" and "internationalization" are often used synonymously by some educators, economists and politicians, in reality, the terms represent divergent and at times conflicting paradigms. The growing internationalization trend in higher education among OECD nations is characterized by a shift from a liberal-democratic model of development to a corporatist model of internationalization which is challenging traditional theoretical concepts of international development. At this point, it is necessary to clarify the use of certain development terminology which arises in the study. The terms "developed," "underdeveloped," "developing," "newly industrialized," "First World," and "Third World" are used to deliniate development strategies which are framed within the modernization paradigm. The terms "North" and "South" are of particular significance in this research because they demonstrate the inherent contradiction in internationalization policies. In reality, it is the globalization of capital which has eroded the correspondance between the state and capital, therefore the term "inter-nationalization" is a misnomer, in this context. However, this study detaches itself from that debate so that the development partnerships between Canadian and Third World universities can be examined in greater depth. Therefore the terms, "developed," "underdeveloped" and "Third World" are used throughout the modernization paradigm which guides CIDA and ICDS policies.

The preceding discussion provides us with a framework for analysis of the universities' current role in development. From the literature survey of education and development and Canadian foreign policies, one can infer that three conflicting development paradigms have emerged from government, non-governmental organizations and institutions involved in international development. Section four examines the impact of these conflicting paradigms on development policies. Finally, this section uses the preceding discussion to formulate a theoretical framework for analysing Canadian universities' development roles. This framework is used in the case studies of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia.

2.1 Higher Education and Development: A Theoretical Perspective

The universities of industrialized nations were drawn into the development process after 1945, and especially during the Cold War, in an attempt to stimulate economic growth in underdeveloped countries through educational expansion. During this period, the Modernization theory of development became the catalyst which fused links between education and economic development. This unilinear, evolutionary model of societal development, put forth by American sociologists during the 1950s and 1960s, was premised on the view that certain structural and psychological changes would have to take place in traditional societies if they were to become modern. The decisive objective of this theory was to lead underdeveloped countries through a series of evolutionary stages towards a modern society which could stimulate economic growth. Rostow (1962) characterized this modernization process as the movement through transitional stages of economic growth in which Third World countries developed "modern" characteristics such as capital, technology, social, economic and political infrastructures, as well as "appropriate" cultural attitudes. Underlying the emergence of modernization theories were the political and ideological motivations of industrialized nations to curtail the spread of communism and socialism in the Third World.

The universities' development role was further concretized by Theodore Schultz's influential speech to the American Economic Association in 1960, which argued that the investment in human capital was a strategy to enhance economic growth through improvement in the quality of human resources thereby improving their productivity in the workforce (Schultz,1961:15-17). The human capital theory supported the use of foreign aid to stimulate economic growth.by improving the educational systems in underdeveloped countries in order to facilitate the development of human capital (Schultz, 1961; Denison, 1962; Becker, 1962; Harbison and Myers, 1964). This strategy was well-received by many neo-classical economists and educators who equated educational expansion with equality of educational opportunity, and by those politicians who perceived modernization policies as a movement towards Western democratization and liberal progressivist models (Fagerlind & Saha,1983: 13). Studies by the World Bank (1980), Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985), lent further support to the improvement of educational, health, and nutritional standards as viable investment strategies in human resources to accelerate economic growth. This represented a sharp contrast to early development strategies which had invested heavily in physical capital such as machinery and facilities. In the context of human capital theory, underdevelopment was attributed to the disparity in incomes which were perceived to be caused by lack of formal education. However, the weakness of this theory was its inability to account for disparities among groups with the same levels of education or to quantify the social rates of return to education.

But historically, the use of education to promote development has always been more strategic. Industrialized and developing societies alike, have used education as a vehicle to legitimize the State's political agenda under the guise of economic growth and social mobility (Carnoy, 1982: 39). Galbraith and other critics of modernization and human capital theories argue that the intent of higher education in particular, is even more covert in affecting belief in the industrial system by tying education and training with production (Galbraith,1986: 88). Dwyer (1986: 87) expands on this perspective arguing that economic policy influences education and is reflective of the expectations and the aspirations of the dominant members of a society during a particular period of history. These points are particularly relevant in the context of discussions on international development because the cause of underdevelopment is often attributed to internal rather than external forces. The weakness of Western development strategies lies in three major assumptions explicitly rooted in the modernization theory which has led to over-optimistic expectations of the power of education to stimulate economic and social development in the Third World.

Toh (1979), Inkeles & Smith (1974), and Rostow (1960), identify the first assumption as the belief in development as a unilinear process. Underdeveloped countries must be guided along a path from traditional, agricultural based economies towards the highest state of social development, namely advanced capitalism, which is rooted in an industrialized economic base. It is argued that the correlation between education and income at both the personal and societal level can reduce the dependency burden of the population by increasing labour productivity and raising personal incomes. Secondly, underdevelopment is attributed to insufficient development of human and physical capital, traditional, 'antiquated' social and cultural values, and an absence of an entrepreneurial elite to manage the development process. The strong correlation between national income levels and educational attainment is attributed to increased educational opportunities and greater physical investment in the infrastructure. Thirdly, since Western nations perceive themselves as the role model for economic and political development, it is assumed that they should play the "leadership" role by fostering development in the Third World through technical assistance, and education and training programs. The underlying rationale is the belief that increased access to education can liberate the masses from poverty and accelerate economic growth. These assumptions stimulated private, public and international investment in education and, as a result, education in most Third World countries expanded dramatically for forty years.

The functionalist model of education in Canada and the United States dominated modernization development policies. It was implemented through Western aid agencies and universities and widely supported by early sociologists such as Comte and Durkheim or social anthropologists such as Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown (Mifflen and Mifflen,1982: 42). Formal education was considered an essential element in the evolution of a modern society from particularism to universalism and from ascription to achievement. In addition, schooling played a major role in the selection of the most capable candidate for specific labour tasks. In this context, formal education was perceived as having the greatest potential to reduce inequality in society.

The expansion of education in developing countries reached a fevered pitch in 1950 when student enrollment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America quadrupled while public expenditure on education rose from 2.3 per cent of the GNP, to 4.3 per cent in 1977 (Bacchus,1983: 193). These figures are deceptive however, as they do not take into account key factors such as equitable access to education, student retention rates, educational outcome or output. The limited success of modernization strategies to facilitate significant social or economic growth for the majority of LDC populations became magnified in the context of institutional linkage programs of that era which over-emphasized technology transfer and revealed the inherent contradictions between Western educational models and the development needs of the Third World.

Harsh criticisms of the modernization theory of development were raised in dependency theories which first emerged in Latin America in 1950s and then later resurfaced in the 1960s and 1970s. The consensus in the works of Furtado (1964), Frank (1967), Fanon (1968), and Cardoso and Faletto (1979), was that modernization theory was deeply rooted in the colonial and trade relationships between the Third World and Western industrialized nations which reproduced a dependency between the metropole and the periphery. It was argued that the Third World remained underdeveloped because their human and physical resources were being exploited as a cheap source of raw materials and labour, then later used as an import market for manufactured goods from Europe and the U.S. In this context, economic growth was fostered in the developed rather than in the underdeveloped countries. These critics argued that underdeveloped nations were coerced by neo-classical economists, international development agencies and various philanthropic organizations to support the Western models of education as the path to development. Further inequalities were revealed in Altbach and Kelly's theory of neo-colonialism (1978), and Todaro's (1979) criticism of over-investment in post primary education which cited the imbalance of economic and political power between developed and underdeveloped nations as the major cause of underdevelopment in the Third World. The failure of Western educational institutions' development strategies to produce any significant social transformation in the Third World was attributed to the over-emphasis of "trickle-down" theories of development which did not address the basic needs of the majority of the LDC population who were still living in poverty. In this context, formal educational institutions based on colonial models, were considered by many critics as part of the corruptive influence in Third World development, and Western aid and education programs were accused of merely reproducing these inequalities by widening the economic gap (Murphy, 1979:13). Carnoy described this relationship as a type of "educational and cultural imperialism," in which the metropole continued to exert social, and political influence over the periphery (Carnoy, 1974; Dore, 1976; Berg, 1971).

The dependency theory however, has come under increasing criticism since the 1970s especially among social scientists, who argued that it neglected to take into consideration the impact of internal social relations on the poor, and it failed to provide an adequate explanation for the diversity of development experiences in Africa, Latin America and Asia (Mouselis, 1988). In any case, the impact of the imbalance of political and economic power between the Third World and the industrialized nations clearly indicated that a change in the relations between the two groups was needed if sustainable development was to be achieved.

The failure of modernization and human capital theories of development lies mainly in their attempt to apply manpower forcasting techniques to higher education; at best, these are educated guesses. In the context of developing countries, the improbability of reliable predictions is even greater given the instability of the economic and political climate and the limited knowledge and field experience of Canadian development consultants (Gillis et al.,1983).

In the context of international development, there is also wide-ranging theoretical and empirical evidence which reveals the limits of formal education in promoting development and economic growth in the Third World. The attempt to address the critical lack of skilled manpower, and the use of short-term non-formal educational training programs through rapid and unstructured expansion of universities in the Third World has strained economic and human resources beyond their limits (Leys,1971.8; Kwapong, 1987). Yet in spite of these limitations, the demand for higher education in the Third World is growing exponentially and Western aid agencies and universities continue to support its rapid expansion through the implementation of "human resource development" and "institution-building" strategies especially in the context of institutional linkages.

Human resource development (HRD) is an integral component to the discussion because it is the theoretical foundation of Canada's current official development assistance (ODA) policies. The World Bank, CIDA, and the ICDS identify HRD as a key factor in institutions' ability to promote sustainable development through the development and implementation of educational policies which foster academic leadership in both the donor and host institution (CIDA,1987; World Bank,1986; ICDS,1992). It is argued that the major difference between human capital and human resource development theories lies in HRD's recognition of the need for the development of social as well as economic well-being and, in some situations, HRD is perceived as the precursor and catalyst to economic development (Bacchus, 1991).

The inherent difficulty of achieving social development objectives within the economic and political climate lies in the ideological conflict between liberal-democratic and corporatist models of development which are still deeply influenced by the modernization theory. The impact of these competing development paradigms on the universities' development role is explored in greater depth in the latter part of this discussion.

2.2 Canadian Development Policies: An Historical Perspective

Over past the forty years, Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA) policies have been largely shaped and mobilized by dynamic global economic and political forces which in turn, have had a strong influence on the role of Canadian universities in international development. Canadian universities' involvement in development evolved from the Bretton Woods Conference following WWII which was responsible for eliciting strong support for modernization and human capital development theories. The 1944 conference, held in New Hampshire, was responsible for the emergence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which began its operation under the leadership of the United States and Britain. Its primary mandate was the promotion of growth in underdeveloped countries, the "reconstruction" of the economies of war-torn European nations by stabilizing national currencies and stimulating world trade within an international monetary system. "Stabilization packages" in the form of loans were offered on the condition that recipient countries adopt short-term economic policies to stabilize their economies and lead them on the path to "development" (Gillis et al.,1987: 371-373). To complement economic development, attention was directed at the critical lack of human resources, physical capital, and infrastructures necessary to facilitate growth. Therefore, education was perceived by both developed and underdeveloped countries, as the key tool to accelerate economic growth. However, it was also at this point that the functions of education became more overtly political in nature. The concept of global interdependence emerged as an underlying rationale for international cooperation for development at the Bretton Woods Conference, and through institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, and GATT, it provided the ideological framework for the construction of a new international economic order and forged a stronger link between education and development (Brandt, 1983; 2).

Canada's official development assistance began in Asia in 1946 and mirrored American modernization development strategies, delivering aid in the form of technology transfer and financial aid to developing countries who had supported the British Commonwealth during WWII and who were now seeking independence. It was during this period that faculty members from Canadian universities were requested to become directly involved in the international development process as consultants or "experts." They were recruited by various specialized agencies of the United Nations to facilitate the transition of agricultural-based economies to a Western model of industrialization. Since development was perceived as a process of modernization, Canadian faculty were hired on the basis of their professional expertise rather than a possession of development knowledge or experience (CIDA.1980). Consultancy positions were assigned on an individual basis and the development roles were largely defined by foreign policies of developed countries implemented through agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF which had their own economic and political agendas, therefore Canadian universities did not perceive a need to formulate development objectives or policies at an institutional level. In addition, the impact of these consultancy roles on Canadian educational policies and teaching practices was limited. Although philosophically, these development activities were perceived as a logical extension of the university's academic mandates of teaching, research and community service in practice, the consultancies focused mainly on the transfer of Western knowledge and technology to the Third World. This period is significant because it marked the beginning of universities' "responsive" role in international development.

Since much of the emphasis on economic development in the Third World during the 1950s was centered on the need for skilled labour, secondary and higher education became the focal points for development aid and program support.[1] Canadian universities were drawn more deeply into the international development process by development policies established at the 1950 Colombo Conference in Ceylon, which were later re-formulated into the Colombo Plan. At that time, the Technical Cooperation Service in the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce was established, and the Canadian government was given the responsibility of developing formal and nonformal educational programs in Canada to train UN, Colombo Plan and Canadian personnel for consultancy positions in development abroad. Although this was a prime opportunity for Canadian educators and politicians to radically influence the design and implementation of human resource development programs in the Third World, they continued to respond by delivering traditional technical training programs

In 1958, the Economic and Technical Assistance Branch within the Department of Trade and Commerce was established, and it was during this period that aid shifted from capital assistance to technical assistance. Thus the technocratic role of higher education in development was expanded even further Canadian development assistance was initially concentrated in the West Indies Aid Program, the Commonwealth Technical Assistance Program, and the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Program. Within a year, assistance was broadened to encompass the Caribbean and Commonwealth Africa. At that time, the University of Alberta became one of the first Canadian institutions to establish a development partnership, forming a link with a comprehensive school in Thailand. The University of British Columbia quickly followed suit by establishing a development project with the Economics Department of the University of Penang (CIDA,1980:9).[2] But the dominance of modernization strategies implemented through technology and knowledge transfer projects severely limited the social and economic benefits of these programs for the majority of population in these countries.

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[1] It should be noted that this was also a period of rapid expansion of primary education enrolment in the Third World. In 1959, the governments of several Asian countries supported the Karachi Plan which required a 17 year commitment to the provision of compulsory primary and secondary free schooling by 1980 (Gillis et al.1987: 215)

The modernization paradigm was also a significant influence in internationalizing Canadian campuses. As a result of the increased involvement of Canadian universities in international development, the number of foreign trainees in Canada rose from 408 in 1958 to 709 in 1960, an increase of 75 per cent, and a $70 million budget was alloted for the delivery of these projects and for the 84 Canadian advisers who were then working abroad (Ruggles,1991:1). The complementary theories of modernization and human capital were therefore successful in exerting significant influence on foreign and Canadian educational systems during the 1950s and 1960s, by forging stronger relationships among educational institutions, the private business sector in Canada, and a number of powerful international aid agencies. Education and development policies were still perceived as a democratizing movement, and the limited success of modernization and human capital development strategies was interpreted by development strategists, economists and educators simply as a need for longer-term Western commitment and additional technical support to achieve economic and social development in the Third World. As a result, the United Nations launched the First Development Decade in 1960 to speed up the modernization process and to "... mitigate the tensions and hostilities which must flow from the world's vast inequalities in wealth" (Leys,1971: 8).

At this point, Western governments and development agencies further expanded their programs to enlist the help of non-governmental agencies (NGOs) and universities and colleges (NGIs). Experts and consultants from UNESCO, USAID, ODA, and the World Bank flooded the Third World with aid programs, and the Canadian government followed suit by expanding its development mandate in 1960, and forging new relationships with Canadian universities through its newly established External Aid Office in Ottawa. The office assumed responsibility for the placement of UN, UNESCO, and ILO funded trainees in Canadian post-secondary institutions. It was also responsible for awarding academic scholarships to international students brought to Canada, and the recruitment of Canadian advisers from the private sector, universities and colleges for technical assistance abroad. The Office was expected to address all Canadian aid functions, using a staff of 60 Canadians and a budget of $82 million. By 1965, the External Aid Office had grown to a staff of 180 and its budget reached $160 million. These funds were used to finance 885 Canadian teachers and advisers abroad who coordinated technical assistance projects in the Third World which now included Francophone Africa and Latin America.

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[2] For an in-depth analysis of the University of Alberta/Thailand Comprehensive Schools Project, see Gue,1972. Faculty Expectations, Roles and Reactions in Thailand-University of Alberta Projects for Comprehensive or Diversified Secondary Schools.

As a result of the rising expectations and increased demand for higher education in the Third World, the number of foreign trainees studying in Canada had increased to 2,380 by the mid-1960s (Ruggles,1991: 2). These demands for higher educations were also mirrored in Canada so that by 1966, the government had to double its per capita contribution to education. The Economic Council of Canada was given the task of critically evaluating the productivity of the Canadian educational system in relation to national industrial and economic objectives.

This was a pivotal point in history of international development because the government's increased reliance on Canadian universities for research and development broadened their role to encompass national economic development. It was also during this period, that the government began to establish links between the universities and the business sector through sponsorship of research and development initiatives. The British Columbia Research Council and the Research Council of Alberta were established by their respective provincial governments to address problems arising from the rapid industrial growth. As a result of the expansion in Canadian research and development practices, The Canadian Journal of Education and The Alberta Journal of Educational Research were established thus building legitimacy for national research (Katz,1969: 48; 93; 116)

In 1968, the External Aid Office was re-named the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and was given the task by the Liberal government of implementing Canada's new development priorities as outlined in the 1970 policy paper entitled Foreign Policy for Canadians. Within this document, a sector paper emphasized the need to re-define the relationship between Canadian aid agencies and the Third World. The Pearson Report (1970:29) was significant because it attempted to re-align the research activities of Canadian universities with the development needs of the Third World, and it attempted to give developing nations increased opportunities for input into Canadian development policies. In an attempt to change the donor-recipient relationship of previous development linkages, the 1968 document, Foreign Policy for Canadians, recommended that by redirecting research and development projects carried out by industrialized nations towards less developed nations, a more balanced development strategy would evolve which could "increase [the] absorptive capacity" of education, training and technical assistance (Ruggles,1991: 2). The objective of this strategy was to promote the development of indigenous research capacities by redistributing research and development funds more equitably in order to foster sustainable development (98 per cent of R&D funds had been previously spent in more industrialized nations, compared to the 2 per cent spent on research & development in the Third World during the same time period). The realization of some of these goals was evidenced in the establishment of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in 1970.[3] Through this agency, university research and thus, Canadian graduates became increasingly exposed to global development issues and international research and development agendas.

These development strategies were also supported by many educators who perceived this as an opportunity to promote sustainable development in the Third World by generating new knowledge through research. However, the weakness of this plan was in its failure to address the complex ethical issues and value conflicts which are inherent in cross-national research. Critics argued that the adoption of positivist-based scientific method in cross-national research merely commited researchers to an instrumentalist perspective which reaffirmed Western technocratic domination of developing countries (Schroyer, 1973; Habermas, 1970, 1973; Bernstein, 1976). These criticisms became evident in practice; while Canadian universities had reached their peak by 1981, performing 26 per cent of Canada's research and development, (AUCC, 1991: 119), the majority of Third World universities continued to rely heavily on Western institutions for research due to a lack of facilities, and financial restraints. This dependency relationship was also perpetuated through overseas graduate scholarships programs. However, the ensuing decline in educational funding at home and abroad became a catalyst for forging an even stronger link between the private business sector and Canadian universities by encouraging the shift of research and development activities away from the Third World. to corporate partnerships which pursued applied research for profit.

Educational expansion programs implemented by Canadian universities and other donor agencies in the 1970s and 1980s, had not only failed to promote sustainable development in the Third World, they had actually created an imbalance between educational output and labour market absorption. The outcome was higher rates of unemployment, under-employment and economic instability manifested in increased levels of poverty and social unrest (Alladin,1986: 276). Despite an expenditure of between 20-30 per cent of their annual budgets on expansion of educational facilities and training programs, modernization and human capital theories had failed to facilitate significant economic growth.or social equality in most of the Third World (Coombs, 1981).

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[3] The agency, designated as a public corporation and funded solely by the Parliament of Canada, was designed as an educational support system to adapt scientific research and technology to the needs of the Third World, and continues to play a significant role in R & D activities in LDC institutions. Although centered in Ottawa, its policies are set by an international Board of Governors and it maintains regional offices in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. The Centre is committed to research in six sectors: agriculture, food and nutrition sciences, health sciences, information sciences, social sciences , earth and engineering sciences and communications. (IDRC, 1989)

During the same period, a number of prominent Canadian educators became increasingly vocal in their dissent against modernization strategies which they felt had created uneven economic development of Canada. They argued that attention should be focussed more on economic issues facing Canadian education than in Third World issues. Their main criticisms were that:

> From what has been happening in Canadian education in the past two decades, both at home and abroad, it is clear that...education has become not only big business but big politics. and the sooner federal and provincial authorities reconcile their respective responsibilities in this realm the healthier it will be for Canada's educational systems and for Canadians. (Katz, 1961: 12)

The inherent contradictions between national and international economic policies and provincial and federal educational ideologies had major ramifications for the future of partnerships among Canadian and their counterparts in the Third World. Two key factors limited the ability of Canadian universities to initiate positive sustainable development in the Third World through education and training programs. First, the legitimacy of Canadian, American and British universities was largely based on credentialism within advanced capitalist systems which Bowles and Gintis (1976) argued merely perpetuated the existing inequality of social relations and preserved the class structure. In this context, higher educational opportunities went disproportionately to those who held favoured positions in society. Knowledge remained centered in Western universities and technological information and skills was merely transferred to the Third World in a unilinear fashion. Secondly, the Canadian universities' impact was further restricted by the continuity of colonial models of education in the developing countries. Carnoy (1974), Altbach and Kelly (1978) and Fanon (1968) argued that colonial institutions perpetuated the demand for Western formal educational models, and fostered the development of a national bourgeoisie, which strengthened the social and economic power of the ex-colonial countries.

The failure of the Green Revolution's "technical fix" rationality was a consequence of assumptions that technical solutions could operate independently of the institutional environment. By over-emphasizing the technical function of education to stimulate more efficient use of human and physical capital, economists and development educators had failed to recognize the impact which internal and external economic and political factors had on development (Griffin, 1979). The harsh reality remained; the majority of the population in the Third World were still living in abject poverty. The dismal failure of these strategies was revealed in the Pearson Report (1970) which documented the fact that not only had the economic gap not been reduced, instead, it had accelerated during the First Development Decade.

However, at the close of the Second Development Decade, the most influential effort to facilitate more cooperative development activities between developed and underdeveloped countries was the publication of the Brandt Commission's report: North-South: A Program for Survival (Brandt,1983: 36). In this document, the discussion "The North-South Dialogue: Making It Work", provided support for the case of synergistic development by citing the need for a shift in attitudes of the North which could maintain international peace, foster global economic growth and build universal human rights and thereby facilitate a more cooperative and stable international system. Decision-making power, it was argued, could be shared more equitably between the North and the South in international economic sphere. The Brandt Report argued that:

> There was a time when aid was seen as a competition for the allegiance of developing countries between the major powers of the East and West. Commission members did not and would not endorse a return to anything resembling that competition.
> But we do see one of the main purposes of development- and of international cooperation for development- as the creation of nation states capable of sustaining their own political independence. That is among the essential foundations of international stability.
> (1983: 140-141)

Its recommendations for more adequate support for development education in the North were designed to "bring development issues more firmly into the consciousness of public opinion" (Brandt,1983: 151). The humanitarian ideology of the Brandt Commission was introduced during a critical period in world development when industrialized nations were struggling to come to grips with the consequences of a highly interdependent global economic system. However, while some educators argue that the Brandt Report was critical in expanding the use of education as a tool to build greater global awareness and understanding (Bacchus, 1983: 7), others contend that the thrust of the Report's underlying assumptions still fell well within the modernization paradigm and did not consider radical restructuring of global power relations (Toh, 1987).

By the 1980s, Canadian foreign policy dramatically shifted away from issues of humanitarian aid and instead was dominated by two key issues- economic security and global competitiveness In the government papers entitled, Competitiveness and Security, Independence and Internationalism, and Canada's International Relations (Department of External Affairs, 1986), development assistance became only a minor issue for debate (Ruggles, 1991: 4). The key issues addressed in these documents were the decline in manufacturing productivity, reduced expenditures on research and development in comparison to other industrialized nations, and most importantly, the limited output of scientists and engineers from Canadian universities. Over the next six years, these concerns were reiterated in federal and provincial government documents, as the Canadian government brought increasing pressure upon Canadian universities to bring their educational policies and practices in line with the demands of the economy. The Competitiveness and Security paper, introduced the issues of a comprehensive free trade agreement with the United States and Canadian membership in the Organization of American States (OAS), thus tying its foreign policies even more closely to American economic and political interests. By the end of the decade, both recommendations were a fait accompli.

However, in 1987, an attempt was made to re-introduce Third World development issues into Canadian foreign policy through Winegard Report, For Whose Benefit?: Canada's Official Development Assistance Policies and Programs. For the first time, an attempt was made to stimulate critical dialogue on foreign policy issues. The government sought input from Canada's three political parties, and public hearings were held in eight cities across Canada. A field visit was even made to Africa, however, the meetings held with financial institutions in Washington and the United Nations development agencies in New York where an indication of the underlying influence of economic and political agendas guiding these discussions. What was unique in these findings which were presented to the House of Commons, was an emphasis on the need for a conceptual shift in Canada's modernization and human capital development ideologies to policies which integrated human resource development into all development activities. In particular, the report recommended the re-definition of donor recipient relationships to promote development partnerships which could facilitate active participation of Third World members and strengthen their human and institutional capacity for sustainable development while at the same time promoting global environmental integrity (Winegard, 1987: 12-15).

The response to these recommendations was published in the September 1987 document, Canadian International Development Assistance: To Benefit A Better World which indicated that the Government had fully accepted 98 of the 115 strategies proposed in the Winegard Report. An additional 13 recommendations were partially accepted. Of particular significance was the focus on human resource development, which encompassed the components of education, training, research, institutional development and social communications. In addition, human resources development was targeted to become "the lens through which all development activities would be examined in the context of Country Program Reviews, program and project planning" (CIDA, 1987: 13).

The Winegard policies were also responsible for further aligning Canadian universities' academic mandates of teaching, research and community service with the partner country's development mandate. While the Winegard Report outlined several strategies for expanding educational opportunities at all levels, six recommendations focussed on re-aligning Canadian universities' development roles with Third World development needs. The key recommendations of the Report stated that :

> 1. CIDA should provide greater support for Third World institutions' delivery of occupational and technical training programs.
> 2. CIDA should expand open scholarships for core countries by 1,000 in addition to current education and training awards.
> 3. the Canadian government should seek waiver agreements with all provinces that apply differential fees to ODA sponsored students.
> 4. CIDA should facilitate development partnerships by providing increased funding to the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS) Division to cover the direct and overhead costs incurred by Canadian colleges and universities in project deliveries.
> 5. CIDA and IDRC should make greater efforts to link research and development projects to development needs by assisting developing countries to expand their faculty and institutional research capacities.
> 6. CIDA should enhance public support of development by establishing development education strategies such as centers of excellence at the post-secondary level and a media co-op program
>
> (1987: 12-15)

In 1987, CIDA revised its primary development mandate to address the needs of the poor by implementing educational policies intended to promote partnerships between universities through ICDS projects, and expand opportunities for foreign students to study on Canadian campuses. In a response to the paper Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations, which stressed the need for developing Canadian human capital through programs encompassing education and training, cooperative education and joint research collaboration between Canadian universities and industry, the government tabled the discussion and a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons was established in June to address these issues. It was finally acknowledged that "... an aid program that transfers mainly goods and equipment without the skills to manage and maintain them is ultimately doomed to failure..." (Department of External Affairs, 1986: 21).

However, the Committee maintained its support for modernization and human capital development strategies, arguing that while Third World countries needed to develop their own higher education institutions, it was difficult for them to provide a full range of graduate studies, therefore Canadian development assistance should expand foreign students' opportunities for graduate studies in Canadian universities. At that time, 3,500 Canadian-funded foreign students were already studying in Canada, however, the Committee received the recommendation that full scholarship funding should be offered to an additional 10,000 students also. They emphasized the point that foreign students brought cultural, economic and political benefits to Canada.

However, the Committee also felt that technical vocational training needed to be maintained in order to balance the educational needs of developing countries. The following statement clearly illustrates the instrumentatist nature of the Government's foreign scholarship programs. The Committee argued that:

> Canada has no deliberate policy on graduate studies but rather identifies the most suitable levels and institutions according to the needs of individual countries and projects. At the present time, 63% are sponsored at the post-graduate level and 37% at the undergraduate or community level. While Third World countries need to develop their own institutions of higher education, there is often a greater need for other levels of education and technical/vocational training...
> (Department of External Affairs, 1986: 69)

Support of the Committee's recommendations was demonstrated in the increasing number of institutional linkages sponsored between Canadian and Third World universities and the increased enrolment of Third World students in Canadian institutions. By 1988, the recommendations of the Winegard report had been concretized into development policies which were outlined in the document, Sharing Our Future. The Honourable Minister Monique Landry, then Minister for External Affairs and International Development cited four development principles as " the action plan that will guide Canada's Official Development (ODA) Policies into the next century" (Sharing Our Future, 1987: 3). However, the increasing economic rationalism which guided the commodification of Canadian education by marketing it as "development expertise". This trend is evident in the policy recommendations made at the 1986 meeting of the Members of the Council of the Ministers of Education.

The following policy recommendations to the Secretary of State were made by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, in the document, Foreign Students in Canada Vol. 1: A Statement of Issues for Policy Consideration.

> The presence of foreign students in educational institutions in Canada is viewed by the Ministers responsible for education as an asset, not as a liability. Indeed, the Ministers are of the view that the participation of foreign students in the institutions under their jurisdiction is a very important element in the vitality of these institutions, is beneficial to the international cultural and trade interests of each province.
>
> Foreign students provide direct economic and commercial benefits to the communities in which they study in Canada, and indirectly provide in later years benefits in terms of future trade and investment....
>
> The international marketing of education systems and educational resources is assuming increasing importance in most jurisdictions in Canada, and common ground should be found in the face of strong well-organized competition in this regard from other industrialized countries.
> (1986: 7-8).

The response to these and policy recommendations by provincial ministries of education have varied significantly over the past ten years, and is a strong indicator of the prevailing political and economic climate. While some universities lowered or removed their differential fees for foreign students others increased their fees.[4] Three key observations can be made from the historical survey of Canadian ODA. First, it is evident that while Canada has been guided by a number of cooperative, humanistic development policies as outlined in the Brandt, Pearson, and Winegard Reports, it has had limited success in transforming these ideologies into practice. This growing gap between development theories and educational practices can be attributed to the nation's historical development legacies, the competing development agendas of CIDA and the Department of External Affairs and Trade, and the current national and international economic crisis.

Robert Paterson(1992: 130-152) and Michael Webb (1992: 153-185) question whether Canada has ever played a leadership role in international development because of its history of passivity in relation to foreign investment and macro-economic policy-making. Webb argues that since 1946, Canadian macro-economic and foreign policies have been closely tied to the international monetary regime. Furthermore, he contends that because of the openness of its capital markets and its close links with American capital markets, Canadian policy-making has had to be extremely responsive to social, economic and political conditions in the global economy. The record of Canadian foreign policy illustrates the preference for bilateral deals with the United States rather than multilateral cooperation. Canadian leaders perceive that the US is often more willing than multilateral institutions to negotiate for international policies which achieve both countries' economic objectives (Webb, 1992; Krasner,1983: 1). Paterson points to the possibility that as a result of these trends, American and Canadian investment policy is likely to be be perceived internationally as synonymous regimes.

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[4] For further discussion, see the March 1987 Foreign Students in Canada Vol. 2 document, Council of Ministers of Education, Canada.

This raises the question whether Canadian universities have the power to influence the direction of their development role. The historical overview reveals the limitations of Canadian universities' role in development policy-making and project design. Since their introduction to the development process in 1950, their development mission has largely been guided by external.economic and political forces. The lack of critical dialogue on universities' development practices may be attributed to the perpetuation of modernization paradigms which view development as a unilinear process of knowledge transfer. In the absence of an institutionalized development policy, it is even more likely that CIDA development policies will merely be unreflexively transformed into ad hoc development practices. Throughout this long history, Canadian social scientists have tended to focus their analysis on Canadian and American education and development policies on abstract and theoretical levels, while remaining strangely silent in their criticism of universities' actual development practices. This trend in Canadian research is explored further in Chapters Five and Six.

However, it is clear that the dramatic geo-political changes occurring in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have precipitated a greater sense of urgency for critical dialogue in international development. At the same CIDA finds itself under increasing pressure to align its ODA priorities with Canadian and American foreign policies, Canadian universities are also feeling the economic pressure to restructure their institutions in light of the new global economic order.

2.3 The Internationalization of Higher Education: Competing Paradigms of Development

Underdeveloped countries continue to be plagued by the problems of an unskilled or semi-skilled workforce, internal social and political conflict, environmental degradation. A number of development theorists maintain their continued underdevelopment can be attributed to not only a lack of economic growth, but also due to the inadequate development or misuse of human resources (Curle, 1970; Kiggundu, 1989; Bacchus, 1991; UNDP, 1991; CIDA, 1991). Yet the negative impact of the colonial experiences, the Green Revolution, Modernization and Human Capital theories have clearly illustrated the limitations of previous development paradigms.to promote human resource development. The greatest weakness in these development practices has been their unwaivering perception that underdevelopment is the result of internal social, economic and political deficiencies in the host country rather than a factor of impinging external political and economic influences (Fagerlind and Saha, 1983: 18). Support of this perspective has also severely limited the impact of the Canadian development policies and practices. Despite extensive global development efforts on the part of universities and development organizations, the real per capita income of the majority of the populations in the Third World has actually fallen substantially over the past decade.(Bacchus, 1991: 5).

Yet the continued support for the pursuit of these development strategies is revealed in the examination of Canadian universities' development practices. Based on Axelrod's research on the post-1945 period of industrial capitalism, it was evident that modernization ideologies were strongly embedded in links between Canadian universities and the marketplace and they were legitimated through the increase of business memberships on university boards of governors, and educational grants funded by the private sector. The rationale used by a funding campaign mounted by the Canadian Industrial Foundation for Education to legitimate these partnerships illustrates the growing bond between universities and business. The Foundation rationalized these relationships by arguing that:

> if university income was buttressed by healthy, private donations, the total government control over higher education could be resisted. The autonomy of the university, which all academics cherished, is thus equated with the freedom of the corporation from government intervention.
> (Axelrod, 1982: 38; 41).

The same economic rationalism has increasingly become the driving force behind modernization practices implemented through Canadian university development projects. Forty years after Axelrod's study, there is a strong sense of *deja vu*:. The current global economic crisis has enhanced the need for more careful investment in development, and Western nations have responded to these limitations by searching for alternative courses of action to address underdevelopment and development.

At the policy level, these global economic and political trends have reinforced CIDA's support for liberal-democratic development paradigms based on a market expression of economic rationality and an entrepreneurial spirit of democracy. These characteristics are illustrated in its development policies which emphasize the need for cooperation in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of aid programs and the pressure to use HRD as the key mechanism to achieve growth. The ODA priorities outlined in Sharing Our Future (1987) claim that HRD programs delivered through partnerships "put a more human face on development."

This perspective is also reflected in the development policies of the IMF, World Bank, the United Nations and UNESCO. They continue to support HRD strategies based on the assumption that education has the power to foster the development of human resources who are capable of acting as catalysts for social change. This philosophy was strongly reinforced at the 1990 World *Conference on Education For All* sponsored by the World Bank, UNESCO, UNDP AND UNICEF (EFA, 1990: 6-8). Basic education was identified as the key mobilizing force and unifying factor in achieving greater solidarity and collaboration in the solution of global problems and the achievement of "human development." This is based on a market expression of rationality which assumes that the protection and nurture of individual liberties and the placement of specialized knowledge and skills in the hands of individuals, will promote democratic participation and economic development (Hearn, 1985: 134).

However, the universalization of knowledge at any level, raises a number of philosophical questions. While a number of economists, educators and development theorists such as Saywell (1991), Haddad (1985), and Howarth (1991) support the internationalization of knowledge as a positive development strategy because they feel it encompasses the university's traditional mandate to create, preserve and transmit knowledge, other critics such as Kerr (1991), Carnoy (1989),Levy (1974) and Toh (1980) see this as an elitist movement to further control the distribution and access to knowledge and skills. In this context, HRD is actually human resource utilization (HRU) and management (HRU) which emphasizes "efficient deployment of available human resources" for the performance of an organization's critical operating and strategic management tasks (Kiggundu, 1989: 146). Like the human capital theory of development however, the limitation of HRU and HRM strategies lies in its inability to reconcile individual goals with institutional objectives therefore, the goals of the dominant group or organization are often reproduced.

Carlos Torres (1991) challenges EFA development strategies and their concept of "partnerships", arguing that the over-emphasis of basic education and global, educational collaboration may in reality, be an attempt to create a greater dependency between the core and the periphery by promoting "the universalization of a set of skills, knowledge, values and attitudes" for the international mobilization of national, financial, human and material resources." He further argues that over-emphasis of universal primary education has the potential to create greater technological dependency by ignoring the more urgent need for technological and scientific research in higher education (ibid: 10-11).

Modern analysis of the role of higher education in international development is becoming more closely linked with research on the internationalization of education from which a number of alternative development models have emerged since the early 1980s. The underlying impetus for change from the liberal-democratic models of development in the 1970s to corporatist models has been a change in the forces of production created by the recent shift in OECD nations from manufacturing to information-based economies (Hearn, 1985). As a result, in an attempt to expand global networks and enhance national competitiveness, external economic and political forces have become more aggressive in seeking to capitalize on the human and physical resources of higher education institutions. Their drive to market knowledge and information using Canadian universities as the delivery mechanism of human resource development projects had led to the increasing corporatization of Canadian universities' development roles.

This transition in the university's development role is demonstrated in the fact that global "export of services and intellectual property are now equal to the export of electronics and automobiles combined or the combined exports of food and fuels" (Toffler, 1990: 69). The increased demand for university expertise has led to the rapid commodification and commercialization of academic work to such an extent that the social relations of academia and the community are being re-defined by external forces (Slaughter, 1990; Wood, 1992) and control of the specialized knowledge and skills of workers appears to be moving into the hands of corporate management. As a result of this emphasis on decision-making within technocratic and administrative bureaucratic structures, education and development policies are increasingly be formulated in consultation with public authorities and powerful special interest groups (Hearn, 1985: 135). Intensive lobbying by these interest groups has succeeded in expanding the links between universities and the private business sector and their interests have been supported by the formation of "power groups" such a Corporate Higher Education Forum. In 1983, the Forum was established to bring together "twenty-five university Presidents and twenty-five corporate Presidents on a regular basis... to see if the system of Canadian universities can be tuned up to improve the economic performance of the country..."(Newson and Buchbinder, 1988: 1). When challenged by critics as to the potential dangers of linking the business and the academic communities, Lloyd Barber, president of the University of Regina and Chairman of the Forum responded that their interests were not so different. In fact, he argued that:

> If you sat around the table and listened to the discussion and didn't know, you'd be hard-pressed to know who was a university president and who was a corporate president.
> (Newson and Buchbinder, 1988: 1)

The growing corporatist spirit of consensus (Hearn, 1985: 153) is clearly illustrated in rapid expansion of collaborative partnerships between the government, universities and the private sector. In these relationships, individual ideological paradigms and political interests become subordinated to more pragmatic levels of mutual responsibility and are rationalized as an attempt to rescue the nation from its current economic crisis in order to promote economic growth.

However, while this strategy to "internationalize" knowledge through corporate linkages has generally been perceived as "good" by most educators, economists and politicians, it has also been acknowledged that if allowed to run unchecked, business and development partnerships have the potential to create further dependencies. The reliance on the underlying assumptions that uniformity in education can promote mutual understanding enhance self-understanding, overlooks the inherent dangers of homogenizing the mass populations (IAU, 1974: 9-10). Given the current nature of these educational "partnerships" with the private business sector and foreign universities, the Winegard Report's insightful question- "development for whom?" begs to be re-visited.

2.4 Models of Internationalization: Towards A Framework for Analysis

The growing pressure by certain high profile special interest groups to internationalize rather than "globalize" Canadian education to enhance Canada's global economic competitiveness, presents serious challenges Canadian and Third World development partnerships. To address this challenge, a study was commissioned by the AUCC Board of Directors, and financial support for the Commission was provided by the AUCC, the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, the Richard Ivey Foundation, Alcan Aluminium Limited, Bell Canada, IBM Canada Limited, Imperial Oil Limited, INCO Limited, Northern Telecom Canada Limited, The Royal Bank of Canada and Xerox Canada Limited. Dr. Stuart Smith, former Professor of Psychiatry at McMaster University, Leader of the Liberal Party of Ontario, Chairman of the Science Council of Canada and current President of RockCliffe Research and Technology Inc., was named as the Commissioner of the year-long study, and Dr. Myer Horowitz, former President of the University of Alberta sat on the Advisory Panel, along with four other "distinguished Canadian educators" (CICUE, 1990: 3-4). Their report entitled, The Commission on the Inquiry on Canadian University Education concluded that action should be taken to "globalize" Canadian education. Although frequent reference was made to "globalizng" education, the report fails to address the theoretical concept of globalization. Instead, it focussed on recommendations which clearly illustrated strong support for corporate and liberal-democratic models of internationalization. The report contended that this could be achieved through the following recommendations:

> Internationalization should form part of the mission statement of every university and should offer increasing opportunities for year abroad and split programmes, as well as educational exchanges. Federal government agencies should help fund these programs.
>
> Canada's universities should enter into collaborative agreements with appropriate foreign institutions, should emphasize courses in international marketing and government, and should extend Canada's successful co-op educational programs to include as many foreign employers as can be accommodated.
>
> The Federal government should take immediate steps to increase the speed with which student visas are issued.
> (CICUE, 1990: 78-79).

The Commission's frequent use [and mis-use] of the terms "internationalization" and "globalization" illustrates a larger epistemological problem inherent in education and development policy-making, and reveals the point at which the transformation of theory to practice begins to break down. The Commission and other key stakeholders' support for the globalization of education is based on the underlying assumption that the internationalization of education will facilitate global economic development. In reality, the concepts of internationalization and development especially in the context of Third World development, are diametrically opposite in their development philosophies and educational goals and practices. Yet these terms are frequently used synonymously in discussions among educators, economists, politicians and business people when formulating development policies and programs. A closer examination of these concepts in the context of Canadian universities' development activities is therefore timely and valuable.

For these purposes, Habermas' critical theory (1974) has the greatest potential to offer insights, because it clarifies the destination between these terms, and it favours open public discourse on critical issues among all participants thereby facilitating meaningful interaction and communication in the pursuit of new models of learning. Habermas states that only through critical reflection:

> ... can we bring a consciousness, through reflection, the relation of living generations to active cultural traditions, which otherwise operate diametrically. Only in it, finally can we subject to critical discussion both attitudes of political consequence and motives that form the university as a scientific institution and a social organization...
> (1970: 9-10)

Since critical theory focuses on understanding the complex relationship between theory and practice and is committed to emancipatory social action, it has the greatest potential to lead to new levels of critical awareness and reflexivity. It is argued that higher education not only has the function to provide critical reflection of existing social institutions, it must also facilitate a process of critical self-reflection if it is to maintain its legitimacy in the current global climate (Parelius & Parelius, 1982; Schroyer, 1973; Habermas, 1970, 1973). Therefore research in this area should foster a dialectical process in which consciousness formation, critical reflection and communicative action leads participants to new levels of understanding. It is within this environment that universities have the greatest potential to re-define their academic and development roles (Habermas, 1970; Galtung, 1967; Freire, 1970).

The first step in this process is to frame working definitions of key concepts used in development policies and educational practices in order to clarify the discussion. An interesting point from which to begin is Dr. Harari's description of the internationalization process (1992: 8). He sees it as an "international integration wheel... divided into three sections for the teaching, research and community service mandates of the university, in which factors such as the creation of offices of international programs, reinstatement of foreign language requirements, stronger government participation in international activities, more favourable attitudes towards international students and increased integration of international activities in universities facilitate the internationalization process." The limitation of this definition however, lies in its definition of internationalization in terms of what it *does*, rather than what it *is* or hopes to become. In other words, it lacks a strong theoretical foundation or guiding principles. This definition however, is typical of the vague and oversimplified descriptions which are prevalent in Canadian and Third World universities' development policies. While Harari's definition implies support for positive cooperation among universities at a global level through a process of "an international integration wheel," in reality, the strategies outlined are clearly ethnocentric and elitist, directed at enhancing the economic competitiveness of North Americans in a global market. Are the conflicts between development theories and educational practices a consequence of the lack of critical dialogue within and among educational institutions, communities and aid agencies or are they illustrative of a philosophical conflict between education and development paradigms? This study attempts to address these questions by framing the research within a model of critical inquiry.

Since existing development theories proved inadequate for critically examining the transition in the university's development role, it was necessary to develop alternative theoretical models. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, the education and development theories of Habermas (1970), Castles & Wustenberg (1979), Maxwell-Currie (1984),.Newson and Buchbinder (1988) have been combined and re-structured under three basic internationalization models formulated by Dr. Gary Warner, Director of McMaster International at McMaster University, in Hamilton, Ontario (AUCC, 1992) and used as a theoretical framework for this study (see Table 1). The analysis of Canadian universities' role in international development will be conducted using the corporate, liberal-democratic and social transformation models of internationalization. described as follows.

The **Corporate model of internationalization** is a competitive model of development which is strongly supported by modernization and human capital paradigms. The world is perceived as a global marketplace in which competition is the prime motivating factor for achieving national and international economic and political influence or power and social prestige (Warner, 1992). This model also encompasses some elements of the market and service model of a university which are also guided by technocratic rationalism (Warner, 1992; Newson & Buchbinder, 1988). Therefore university involvement in development is supported as a strategic means to develop human capital and promote economic growth through knowledge creation. Since knowledge is centered in the metropole, and its reproduction and distribution is tightly controlled by Western universities, communication tends to be unilateral and unreflexive. Their role is to seek out international development activities which meet national economic market needs or corporate interests, therefore education is a catalyst for national economic growth (Maxwell-Curie, 1984). The community is defined as the economic community where corporate/university partnerships can flourish. Strategic efforts are made to expand international student enrolment and international linkage programs as a means to establish lucrative markets for the export human resource development (HRD) and research (R&D) and development to industrialized countries as well as the Third World. One of the key objectives of university linkages and international student exchanges is to expand business networks or promote trade interests.

The academic function of teaching under this model is increasingly directed by the needs of the labour market especially in relation to the growing demand for scientific and technological innovation. Knowledge creation is of critical importance in order to maintain a competitive advantage with other information-based economies, therefore research is perceived as a pivotal mechanism to promote economic growth thus the external demand for access to university research is likely to increase exponentially. As a result, there is an increasing shift from democratic processes to greater privatization of education through corporate partnerships in research and development, where research is often concentrated in joint R&D ventures between the universities and the private business sector (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988).

Although this theoretical model is usually faces some criticism from neo-conservatives or the 'New Right' (Habermas, 1970: 10) whose concerted efforts seek to restore traditional values to universities and de-politicize the humanities and social sciences, they often concede demonstrate strong support for a technologically-oriented curriculum. In essence, the university operates as an instrument for economic development and global competition.

On the other hand, the **Liberal-democratic model of internationalization** is a consensual model which favors liberal-democratic development paradigms. Its theoretical foundation rests on the concept of positive, cooperative global interdependence for economic, environmental, ecological sustainability.(Pike & Selby, 1988). Global economic cooperation is viewed as a pivotal mechanism for international economic development and for the maintenance of world peace and global security (Brandt, 1984; Winegard, 1987; CIDA; 1987). University involvement in international development is strongly supported by many educators, development theorists, politicians and economists who view education as a catalyst for economic growth and international security. In this model, the community is defined as an economically interdependent global community, and the model attempts to enhance that interdependence through teaching practices which to promote knowledge about other cultures. Since cultural and educational exchanges of faculty and students are often used as strategies to facilitate cross-cultural awareness, understanding and "appreciation" of other cultures and promote international business networks, communication has the potential to more open and reflexive than in the corporate model. However, since development is still defined largely in terms of economic growth and industrialization, university research which is often guided by positivist philosophy seriously limits reflexivity and critical inquiry. The underlying motivation for many university partnerships is the establishment of broaden economic links with any organization or group which can facilitate the university's economic sustainability and enhance its national and international status. The Western model of democracy is still upheld as the model to emulate, therefore most development strategies conducted under this model tend to promote HRD and institution-building as mechanisms to reform or manage organizations, institutional structures, educational systems or social structures. Advocates of this model of collaborative participation fail to recognize the limitations of this perspective. They assume that increased cross-cultural contact facilitates a grasp of the real issues; in reality these issues are often defined in terms of goals and principles set by the Western partners. As a result, an assumption is made that agreement to form institutional linkages and partnerships demonstrates a commitment to their partner's development priorities. The stark reality of Third World partnerships is that participants are usually so focussed on the process of survival that their views of development remain largely undeveloped or under-defined (Hamnett et al., 1984: 123)

In contrast, the **Social Transformation model of internationalization** is a radical departure from the two previous models in that it challenges the underlying theoretical foundation of Western models of education and development. Supporters of this model argue that the dominance of capitalist ideology is the root cause of global social and economic inequalities (Habermas, 1970, 1973; Freire, 1985; Selby, 1989; Toh, 1992). Therefore, ethical issues such as social justice, liberty and environmental integrity are entrenched as the cornerstones to a more humanistic and holistic model of development. Universities are encouraged and motivated to become in global development because it is perceived as an integral component of their teaching, research and community services functions (Newson & Buchbinder, 1988; Warner, 1992; Minter, 1969). However, the process of social transformation within the context of education is taken one step further by incorporating critical self-reflection and empowerment for social action in teaching broad-based, liberatory and participatory curricula (Toh,1993). The world is perceived as borderless; local, national and international communities are inextricably interwoven within the fabric of academic,social, economic and political relationships. The "Old Left" or "the Legitimists" (Habermas, 1970: 10) support this model of development in a number of ways; they also seek to free labour from dependency on market forces and they attempt to resolve economic crises through a re-distribution of wealth and socialization of the economy. This model also addresses some of the concerns raised by the "Critics of Economic Growth" group who seek to balance material consumption with personal and communal growth through fostering a re-connection with small-scale community living and working experiences (ibid:10). The social transformation model illustrates the theme of "relational holism" (Selby, 1993: 3), because social transformation becomes an integrative force seeking to change the internal and external economic and political structures at all levels.(Toh, 1993: 14). Therefore, critical reflection, empowerment of people and social action are the key components of this model of internationalization.

The most significant difference between these models of internationalization lies in their divergent philosophical foundations. These differences are illustrated in the manner in which they perceive themselves in relation to the outside world, and in the way they perceive the process of social change itself. The Liberal-democratic model supports a structural-functional perspective of social change therefore, to ensure survival, it perceives the role of universities in development within four functional imperatives. It sees the university's function is to resolve problems through adaptation; for example, gaining human and physical resources to achieve the organizational goals, integration and latent pattern maintenance, by ensuring that various groups and units within the university work cooperatively and demonstrate coherence and solidarity for the organization's goals and finally, goal attainment, and most important, the mobilization of human and physical resources to achieve its organizational objective (Lauer, 1982: 74-77). In summary, the liberal-democratic model is merely reformist in its policies and practices, seeking only to "manage" the process of change within the context of existing social structures. Therefore self-reflection is highly ethnocentric and social action is, at best, education and development activities are adaptive rather than social transformative (Selby, 1993: 3;Toh, 1993: 19).

The Corporate model is also conformist in its outlook and actions, seeking to maintain the status quo of Western nations, in response to the "democratic excess" and "government overload" of previous models of development and internationalization (Selby, 1993: 3; Hearn, 1985: 147). However, unlike the Liberal-democratic model, it maintains a contractual rather than relational orientation to global interdependencies. Therefore critical reflection and socially transformative action are very limited.

In contrast, the direction of social change in the Social transformation model, is a towards organic solidarity. Durkheim best summarized the distinction between mechanical and organizational solidarity: the former "binds the individual directly to society without any intermediary", while the latter "involves interdependence among individuals" (Lauer, 1982: 61). However, some critics are also sceptical of this model of internationalization, arguing that its main weakness lies in its failure to delineate the importance of the university's research role, thus seriously limiting the potential to sustain development through the production of new knowledge (Minter & Thompson, 1968; Castles & Wustenberg, 1979; Torres, 1991). A second weakness lies in its limited conceptualization of the process of indigenization of knowledge. It is necessary to make a distinction between the processes of structural, substantive and theoretical indigenization of knowledge. Structural indigenization of knowledge refers to the process by which a country develops its human resources by expanding its community of indigenous scholars, educational and research institutions and locally produced education and development literature (Hamnett et al., 1984: 78). This process is similar to institution-building however, the distinct difference between the two strategies lies in the manner in which the organization's human and physical resources are controlled, managed and utilized. The limitation of institution-building is its reliance on external management and financial support. Substantive indigenization refers to the way in which a country develops and relates the content of education, and directs teaching and research practices to promote its own unique cultural, economic and political institutions (ibid,78). It should be an essential element of all development activities because it is within this process that the indigenization of knowledge has the greatest potential to facilitate sustainable models of social action. This process is an integral element of theoretical indigenization because it is at this stage of development that distinctive conceptual frameworks and metatheories that reflect a group's own world views, social and cultural experiences and perceived goals are constructed. These processes of indigenization will be examined in the case studies in Chapters Five and Six.

Although a fourth model of internationalization exists, it is only briefly presented here to illustrate the divergence in perspectives on the internationalization of universities. However, it was not used in the study because in the current global economic and political context, isolationist policies.are no longer rationale or viable development strategies. The academic haven model (Chapman, 1983: 58) supports the practice of isolationism and disengagement based on the argument that the liberal expansion of higher education and the politicization of knowledge.has created the current crisis in higher education and is the cause of a decline of intellectualism. In the context of this model, since teaching and community service mandates focus on servicing the interests and needs of the academic elite, Chapman is even more critical of university liaisons with the public and private sector. He argues that the twenty year liberalization movement to democratize higher education and politicize knowledge for utilitarian aims has eroded both the academic and moral integrity of these institutions. Therefore, he contends that the university is better served by withdrawing itself from its intimate involvement in the community in order to restore its "primary allegiance to cognitive rationality [and] ... the disciplined search for truths." Aside from the inherent weakness in the theoretical assumptions put forth in this argument, this model also fails to delineate the boundaries between educational and non-educational issues. It has been discounted by critics such as Minter (et al., 1968) and Levy (1978) who argue that whether they choose to be or not, all universities are social change agents, because they are a major source of research and development and recruitment for political office. Since this study accepts as a given the inherently political nature of education, this model was rejected as a theoretical model.

Table 1: Models of Internationalization provides a summary of these theoretical models and is useful as a frame of reference for the discussions and critical analyses in

Chapters Four through Seven. A key issue in this discussion, is whether Canadian universities possess the political or economic power to direct social change by influencing education and development policies. Can Canadian universities move beyond their traditional reflexive role in international development?

A second critical issue lies in the universities' ability to foster social change through their students. Ideally, involvement in the process of internationalization and development should be an educative process. From the perspective of critical theory, institutional linkages would have the potential to generate a process of synergistic reciprocal communicative action through relationships in which both individuals and groups would better be able to derive sustenance from their environments, to participate more effectively in society to meet challenges, to create solutions and to transform the world in a positive way. "Learning is a catalyst for all development processes..." (WCEFA, 1990: 6-7). However, while conditions for the politicization of student consciousness are often present in educational institutions in the Third World and industrialized nations, they are difficult to harness because of the influence of the current economic crisis, strong societal support of meritocratic values and the perpetuation of traditional structural-functionalist models of education. Thus many partnerships merely tend to reproduce social and economic inequalities. Critics such as Habermas, 1970), Parsons (1951), and Lipset (1960) argue that the development of student activism for social change in this context is becoming more difficult, while Marx and Engels perceive social change as a dialectical process in which inherent conflicts become the driving force of social transformation (Fuerer, 1959).

Can graduates of higher education be motivated to put their knowledge and skills to use in international development partnerships? The studies of Berg (1971) and O'Toole (1975) document the weak link between educational achievement and work productivity, pointing to the hallmark of the "educated un-employed and under-employed" phenomena created by the drive for credentialism in industrialized societies. Over-investment in post-secondary education is seen by many as an investment in idle human resources (Todaro,.1979: 20). Krazner (1985: 9-10) also argues that the theory of "Gramscian counter-hegemony has been rejected by almost all Third World leaders and questioned by many specific groups, including some policy-makers in the North." Allahar (1989: 139) contends that the weakness in the Gramscian theory is its failure to recognize the pervasive influence of structural inequalities which often favour political patronage and seniority over educational expertise. Given the HRD objectives of CIDA and ICDS projects, universities are faced with a number of critical challenges in addressing these structural inequalities. In reality, the global flow of information still relies more on the circulation of money rather than knowledge (Toffler, 1990: 70).

These arguments present a serious challenge to a number of theoretical assumptions underlying CIDA's development partnership programs. More importantly, they illustrate the contradictory nature of universities' roles in democratization of education and social reproduction. The time is ripe for public discourse on education and development partnerships. This study attempts to fill these gaps in research by integrating a theoretical macro-analysis of CIDA's changing education and development policies with a practical micro-analysis of the university's international development practices to investigate how their role is being influenced by external economic and political forces.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Introduction to Research Design and Methodology

Social Science research is guided by three common purposes: exploration, description, and explanation. Exploratory studies are typically pursued to enhance the researcher's knowledge and understanding, to test the feasibility of pursuing a more intensive study and/or, to develop a methodology for pursuing a more intensive study. This study is both exploratory and analytical in design; the theoretical underpinnings drawn from three models of internationalization which provide a framework for critically analysing the transformation of CIDA and ICDS development policies into educational practices in two Canadian universities. The critical inquiry process not only facilitates the researcher's understanding of education and development in the context of Canadian universities' development partnerships, it also reveals the implications of initiating social change through higher education. Therefore this study focuses on the source and direction of change in the universities' development roles on a theoretical and practical level by examining the impact of CIDA's changing aid policies and the increasing intervention of business in higher education on development practices conducted through ICDS linkage projects. It should be noted that:

> An important feature of an exploratory-descriptive study design is the fact that it does not "prove" anything-that is, a theory or an hypothesis. The primary importance of this design lies in its ability to provide a detailed description of an analysis of a social phenomena which is usually undertaken to clarify some theoretical question, to "try out" a new conceptualization of a phenomenon, or to provoke new perspectives.
> (Pannu,1973:100)

It is this conceptualization of a new phenomenon and the use of new perspectives which guide this research. The positivist scientific method has limited validity in the context of this study because of its predisposition for ordering and controlling social phenomena by generating instrumentalist forms of knowledge (Habermas, 1970,1973; Hamnett et al., 1984; Riley,1974;Unger, 1975). Substantial quantitative analyses of the EIP Program's institutional linkage projects have already generated volumes of data on the origin, number and type of development projects sponsored through Canadian universities.[1] However, these reports overlook the underlying ideological assumptions which inform these development policies and practices. As well, the focus on the meritocratic and technocratic output of EIP partnerships seriously limits the possibility of generating insights into the nature of these institutional linkages and their impact on the participating institutions. Therefore this research is guided by qualitative methodologies because it is recognized that:

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[1] See CIDA/EIP Evaluation Reports 1988,1992. Ottawa

> scientific knowledge is the product of particular ideological presuppositions and value commitments, therefore in professional conduct and the acceptance of ethical principles such as selection of problems, techniques, and styles of research, the social scientist is expressing and affirming particular assumptions...
> [about] the world. (Hamnett et al., 1984: 7)

This study seeks to fill this qualitiative gap in education and development research by creating a climate of critical inquiry within the research process in order that the researcher and the participants in the study can, through a dialectic process, define and clarify their own views about education and development in the context of institutional linkages. Thus the researcher becomes part of the social reality, rather than a dispassionate observer (Riley, 1974; Galtung,1967). Within such a climate, there is greater potential to identify contradictions, stimulate critical self-reflection and reveal issues which may not have surfaced in research guided by positivist methodologies.

It is acknowledged that the reliance on project coordinators' descriptions and evaluations of ICDS projects represents only selective perspectives of institutional linkages and that their analyses of these programs is strongly influenced by their understanding of development issues and their perception of the role of education in the development process. However, the intent of the study is not to evaluate the practical validity of ICDS projects in relation to development in the Third World, but rather to examine the internal and external social, economic and political forces which shape the universities' development role. For this purpose, the interviews provide valuable insights into individual and institutional perceptions which guide development policies and practices in universities. Finally, it is recognized that observation of the two universities' education and development practices over a two year period reveals only short-term adjustments rather than long-term structural changes in the universities' development roles. However, this period of research was adequate in identifying impetus for change in the universities' development role and the direction of change in institutional development practices.

By integrating exploratory and analytical techniques with qualitative research methodologies, it is possible to provide a more detailed and insightful analysis of the dynamic process of transforming development theories into practice at micro and macro levels. This strategy also has a greater potential to generate some recommendations for future research and action.

3.1 Data Collection Methods

Three main research instruments were used to compile information addressing the objectives of the investigation:

A. Content analysis of education and development documents of:
   1. ICDS and CIDA
   2. the University of British Columbia,and the University of Alberta,
   3. the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology and Alberta Advanced Education Department

B. Critical analysis of statistical data on the regional distribution of EIP linkage programs and enrollment patterns of International students studying in Canada

C. Formal taped interviews with:
   1. CIDA and ICDS officers,
   2. International Liaison officers and program coordinators at the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia,

D. Informal oral surveys of academic and non-academic university staff involved in development activities.

3.2 Analysis of Education and Development Policies

Education and development documents were selected from major Canadian organizations which are directly or indirectly linked to development activities conducted through Canadian universities. The thirty documents selected for study are derived from federal, provincial and institutional administrative levels, and contain information from 1987-1993. The information contained in these documents range from policy formation, funding and project evaluation guidelines to description and evaluation of education and development practices in Canadian universities. In-depth critical analyses of education and development policies focused on thirty documents produced by the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, Technology and Training (MAETT), the Alberta Advanced Education Department (AAE), CIDA and the ICDS Division
(see Appendices III and V).

The documents from the aforementioned institutions were used in two ways: first, to provide insights into the underlying education and development ideologies informing development policies for institutional linkages, and second, to identify which models of internationalization were reflected in each institution's development policies. This was achieved by critically analysing the documents to identify institutional perceptions of the universities' development role in correlation to its academic mandates of teaching, research and community. Table 1: Models of University Internationalization was used as a frame of reference to examine which model of internationalization was reflected in each institution's policy statements.

The documents coded as follows to trace a pattern of internationalization in relation to the university's functions of teaching, research and community service:

1. target audiences (TA) refer to the individuals, groups, organizations or countries at whom the educational and development policies and practices are directed
2. the model of internationalization (MI), refers to the corporate, liberal-democratic or social transformation paradigms, which form the underlying development philosophy, and guide educational practices
3. the development strategy (DS), refers the strategic plan or course of action usually undertaken to implement development policies. Some examples of strategic plans are development of human capital, human resource development (HRD), modernization, institution-building, liberatory or global education.

This information is summarized in Table 4: Summary of CIDA/ICDS Perceptions of Canadian Universities' Role in International Development and is used as a database for further discussion and critical analysis of development policies in Chapter Four.

The second purpose of the analysis of these documents was to examine the influence of business and the private sector on development polices and practices at various bureaucratic levels. For this purpose, AUCC and CBIE documents were analysed to examine the relationship between buffer institutions, government, business and universities. Policy documents from the International Education Division of Alberta Advanced Education, and the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology were also used to provide a comparative analysis of federal and provincial development policies and their relationship to provincial educational policies. At an institutional and administrative level, the development policy documents and academic mission statements of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia were used to provide a micro-perspective of development and internationalization patterns.

3.3 Analysis of Education and Development Statistics

Analysis of education and development statistics from CIDA and the two universities' as well as ICDS project evaluations were used to explore the direction of change in each universities' role in development. Seven documents dating from 1987-1992 were used to compile relevant statistical data on the regional distribution of international linkages, EIP projects and CIDA-supported scholars studying in Canada. The list of documents used in the secondary analysis are listed in Appendix IV. This information was then re-constructed into four tables, Table 2: Comparison of Regional Distribution of EIP Linkages 1991, and Table 3: CIDA-Supported Students from LDCs studying in Canada 1989., Table 6: Summary of Regional Distribution of the University. of Alberta International Linkages 1992, and Table 8: Summary of Regional Distribution of the University of British Columbia International Linkage Projects 1992. These tables were used to generate further debate and discussion in Chapters Four, Five and Six.. A second purpose for developing these databases was to test the researcher's hypothesis that there is a strong correlation between the global distribution of institutional linkages and international trade patterns. It was hypothesized that British Columbia and Alberta's heightened trade interest in the Pacific Rim, CIDA's shift in development aid to Eastern Europe, and the current OECD internationalization movement which favors R&D links with institutions in the Pacific Rim and Germany would be reflected in patterns of international student enrollment and linkage projects at the two universities. The analysis of this data was also presented in a descriptive format during the interview process with eight ILO officers and Program Coordinators from the two universities.in order to stimulate further critical dialogue about the universities' expanding development role.

Oral descriptions of ICDS linkages provided by the project coordinators and ILO officers, written documentation of the projects if available,.was used to examine the process by which education and development policies are translated into educational practice at the institutional level. This data was re-configured into two tables which were then used as a point for comparison of the two universities' development activities through ICDS projects'. The description of the projects was analysed in relation to CIDA's four guiding ODA principles to examine the type of development being supported through these projects. This information was then summarized into Table 7: Summary of The Role of the University of Alberta in International Development through ICDS Projects, and Table 9: Summary of the University of British Columbia's Role in International Development. In this way, it was possible to determine which model of internationalization exerted the most influence on educational practices of these development projects. It should be noted that the degree of detailed information on the ICDS project activities available to the researcher varied greatly. One Alberta project was not included in the study because it was still in the initial design stage and therefore had limited data on education or development activities. Access to other project files was limited by certain project coordinators who declined to release the project files because they felt that the information was highly sensitive. Therefore the researcher often had to rely mainly on CIDA files, and personal interviews with the project coordinators for a detailed description of actual project activities.

3.4 Analysis of Personal Interviews and Informal Dialogues

Informal dialogues and formal interviews with project coordinators and ILO officers made it possible to investigate in greater depth, the process by which CIDA's development policies are translated into educational practice within these institutions. They also provided significant insights into the influence of individual and institutional perceptions on academic and development activities conducted through these development projects. The personal interviews served three main functions in relation to the research:

1. they provided a mechanism for pursuing a theoretical analysis of education and development policies at an institutional level and, a comparison of individual and institutional perceptions of policies, thus revealing the degree of systems integration of development and internationalization ideologies (Gidden 1984; Lockwood 1964)
2. examination of personal interpretation of development policies and educational practices at the micro-level provided insights into the process of transforming and integrating externally developed aid policies into institutional development policies and educational practices
3. analysis at this level helped to illustrate the impact of university internationalization and CIDA's changing policies on the university's role in international development by charting the character and direction which ICDS linkages are taking

The location of analyses of the ICDS projects within the personal perceptual framework of these individuals is relevant because:

> All recollections of experiences, reflections on experiences, descriptions of experiences taped interviews about experiences, or transcribed conversations of those experiences are already transformations of those experiences. (Van Manem,1990:54)

Thus the project coordinators' experiences are relevant to this study because their direct, personal and professional interaction with the Third World institutional partners has the potential to reveal unique insights into development practices. The use of written responses to surveys and questionnaires was avoided in order to facilitate a more unstructured and informal critical dialogue between the researcher and the interviewee. Another deciding factor in the use of interviews instead of questionnaires, polls and surveys was the fact that a significant number of faculty members involved in ICDS linkage projects had already been surveyed by a CIDA and an AUCC representative within the past year and they appeared reticent to fill out another survey. Personal interviews and informal discussions were conducted by the researcher with the following key personnel to provide a personal insights to the analysis. Those interviewed and surveyed were given a personal identity code, and their responses were also coded to insure anonymity and to encourage candid responses to the interview questions. The four CIDA and ICDS representatives interviewed in November of 1991, were coded as CIDA:1, CIDA:2, and ICDS:1, ICDS:2 Three informal discussions followed at educational conferences attended by the researcher and the interviewees in January of 1992 and February 1993. Two University of Alberta ILO officers, identified in the study as UA:ILO:1 and UA:ILO:2, participated in informal discussions on campus, in June and September, 1991. They were then formally interviewed October, 1992 and January,1993. The ILO officer, referred to as UBC:ILO:1 at the University of British Columbia was interviewed in March, 1992. Four ICDS project coordinators at the University of British Columbia identified as UBC:PC1-4, and four University of Alberta project coordinators,code: UA:PC 1-4 were interviewed on their respective campuses in September, 1991 and December, 1992. For the purposes of clarification, and to make the distinction between teaching and administrative staff, some project coordinators were given the additional designation of "A" if they also held an administrative position such as a Chair or Dean in the university.

Three administrative staff members at the International Centers of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia participated in three informal discussions which took place on the campuses during 1992 and at a CBIE Conference in 1993. They are referred to as "administrative staf" in the discussion. The same designation was used for two AUUC staff members who participated in informal dialogues at the AUCC office in Ottawa in November, 1991. To clarify discussion and analyses of the findings, references to participants who were involved in the interview process are noted as those "interviewed" or are referred to by their personal codes, for example UBC:PC1, while those who contributed input through informal dialogue at the education and development conferences are designated as those "surveyed."

The lengthy timeframe of the interview schedule was due to two key factors: first, the project coordinators' involvement in ICDS and international development contracts often took them away from the campus for extended periods of time throughout the academic term, therefore making it difficult to coordinate interviews within each university. In addition, this researcher took a six month hiatus from the study in order to assist in the coordination, implementation, and evaluation of a CIDA/University of Alberta Youth Initiatives project in India. Although these interruptions to the research made the interview process more difficult, it is argued that these overseas development experiences provided both the researcher and the project coordinators with new opportunities for dialogues and personal reflections on international development practices and their impact on teaching and research in Canadian institutions. Therefore they were perceived an a fortuitous and invaluable part of the critical inquiry process which guided this research.

Compilation of international students' perceptions of ICDS linkages was the greatest limitation of the research process because of the researcher's time limitations but more significantly, by the students' apprehensions of the perceived consequences of participating in the interview process. During the interview period for project coordinators, twenty international students connected with the ICDS projects and currently studying at the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia were randomly selected and informally surveyed as to their willingness to participate in the interview process. Despite written and verbal assurances of anonymity, with the exception of two University of Alberta students and one UBC student, the majority of students indicated that they declined to participate because of fear it might jeopardize their academic standing in the university or their CIDA scholarship status. In the end, only one international student willingly participated in the formal interview process however, she indicated that her project coordinator had requested her participation in the discussion. Given the candour of the responses given by the project coordinator and the student during the interview process, it was clear that both participants were genuinely interested in pursuing an open critical dialogue about development. An examination of CIDA policy documents on the format and structure of ICDS projects, written project descriptions and interviews with project coordinators at both universities, it became evident that current ICDS projects were structured in such a way that neither Canadian nor international students had the opportunity played an active role in their design, delivery or evaluation. The rationale for the virtual exclusion of students from involvement[2] in these projects will be outlined in greater detail in the case study chapters. Therefore their insights into policies and models of internationalization guiding ICDS projects would probably have been limited. However, the implications of this practice raises serious challenges to assumptions made about the quality of these "partnerships."

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[2] It is important at this point in the discussion to make a distinction between the terms "involvement" and "participation". In the context of this research, the term "involvement" refers to the opportunity which a subject of the study has for direct input into the entire spectrum of a development project, from the identification of the problem and the formulation of objectives, to the evaluation of the project and the implementation of the findings or results. In contrast, "participation" is perceived as passive, non-directive action in which there are minimal opportunities for input.

Therefore, all participants in the study were selected on the basis of their direct involvement in current ICDS linkages with Third World universities. The ICDS project coordinators were contacted in person or by mail, and given a summary of the research proposal which outlined the purpose of the research, and the benefits envisaged to the individual participant and to the institution. A Letter of Informed Consent was provided to each subject, requesting their permission for the researcher's use of information gathered from the taped interviews, in the format prescribed by the interviewee, in the thesis dissertation. With the exception of two project coordinators at the University of Alberta who declined to participate in the research for unspecified reasons, the remainder of those individuals contacted at both institutions expressed an strong interest in the study and readily agreed to be interviewed. The high degree of interest in research on ICDS linkages was evidenced in the participants' support of this study, as it was the third evaluation of ICDS projects conducted by an outside agency in past two years. Yet the majority of the respondents were exceptionally cooperative and enthusiastic.

The interviews were recorded on tape, then transcribed into hand-written notes. Particular attention was given to ILO officers' and the project coordinators' use of "development language" to document their personal perceptions about ICDS linkages and development policies and practices in general. They were also given the opportunity to make specific recommendations for future institutional linkages. The interview process began with an informal conversation between the researcher and the interviewee to create an atmosphere for open discourse on development. The interview questions were designed to elicit the individual's perception of the university's role in international development and its relation to their teaching, research and community service practices at the university. Field notes were also taken during the interview process to document the researcher's comments and hypotheses in relation to the interviewee's statements. The data contained within the transcribed interviews was encoded using the same criteria used in the analyses of CIDA and university documents in order to examine each individual's perception of the role of universities in international development in relation to the three models of internationalization and the university's mandates of teaching, research and community service. This information was then compiled into two Appendices: Appendix IX: University of Alberta Project Coordinators' Perceptions of the University's Academic and

Development Roles, and and Appendix X: University of British Columbia Project Coordinators' Perceptions of the University's Academic and Development Roles.

The data retrieved from those surveyed at education and development conferences and workshops and international students who consented to informal dialogues on ICDS projects was used throughout the study to supplement viewpoints expressed in the interview process.and to provide a broader database for generalizing about faculty perceptions of universities' development roles. Speeches, field observations and informal dialogues with program participants were transcribed and compared to the responses of the interviewees and used as descriptive comparisons in the critical analysis of interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

> "The new holy trinity is organization, technology and information. The new priest is the technocrat- the man who understands the organization, makes use of the technology and controls access to the information, which is a compendium of 'facts'... He has become the middleman between the people and the divinity... he produces and distributes the wafer... [of] knowledge, understanding, access, the hint of power..... The greatest good is the greatest logic or the appearance of efficiency or responsibility for the greatest part of the structure..."
>
> John Raulston Saul
> Voltaire's Bastards: The Dictatorship of Reason in the West

4.0 Introduction To Data Analysis

The following chapters examine the relationship between CIDA's development policies and universities' educational practices within the context of international linkages in the Third World. While determining the truth or validity of the underlying development theories which guide CIDA policies is important, this is not the main purpose of the critical analysis. One of the main intents of the study is to examine the influence these policies have on the universities' academic and development roles.

Examination of the relation of theory and practice can be achieved in three ways, using the theoretical framework of the three models of internationalization. First, the relation of theory and practice may occur on the level of education and propaganda when development programs are used by individuals, groups or organizations as a mechanism to convey "firm" political truths which are clarified and stabilized through one-way communication. This relationship between theory and practice is illustrative of corporate models of internationalization in which modernization and human capital theories guide development practices. The transfer of Western knowledge and skills is marketed as a panacea for Third World poverty. A second perspective sees the competition of ideas and values as an opportunity for the exchange of values and ideas in political dialogue thus providing a viable process for achieving economic development. In this context, Liberal-technocratic models of internationalization are perceived as the best mechanism to facilitate national and international HRD and economic development through institutional linkages and partnership programs. A third perspective of the relation of development theory and practice supports a Freirean paradigm delivered through a social transformation model of internationalization. This perspective perceives development as an educative and transformative process which fosters conscientization in individuals who are then motivated to become active participants in social change (Preston, 1972:180). These three development perspectives and models present us with a way of framing the development experiences of Canadian universities in order to reveal how internal and external political and economic influences shape their academic and development roles. For this reason, these models are valuable tools for analysing the relations of development theory and educational practice.

Chapter Four provides a macro-analysis of current CIDA and ICDS aid policies and the internationalization of education movement and their influence on universities' education and development roles. The discussion in this section of the study also focuses on implications of the recent shift of development aid from the Third World to Eastern Europe. The direction of change in universities' roles is traced through content analysis of CIDA and ICDS education and development policies, and secondary data analysis of international development databases. Specifically, the objectives of this chapter are to:

1. identify how the shift in CIDA's development policies is influencing the direction of the two universities' development roles
2. investigate the impact of this paradigm shift on institutional linkages through examination of ICDS policies and practices
3. identify the impact of internationalization movements on the two universities' academic mandates and development mission

The first section of this chapter briefly outlines the general characteristics of education and development policies from CIDA and ICDS.
To maintain objectivity and clarity in the discussion, verbatim quotes of key policies are provided to delineate the underlying social, economic, and political objectives of their current development paradigms. CIDA policies make extensive use of the terms least "developed", "underdeverloped", "developing," and "developed" to indicate the stages of economic and social development. This study uses these terms, and the terms "Third World" and "industrialized" for the purposes of discussion to illustrate how the modernization paradigm guides Canadian aid policies and development practices.

The second section of the chapter then investigates the influence of changing aid policies and the internationalization of education movement on universities' development role on a practical level. Relevant data was analysed to trace the geographic distribution of ICDS projects and patterns of international students' enrollment in Canadian universities through analysis of international development databases. This made it possible to trace the direction of change in their development roles. Patterns in CIDA and ICDS policy changes are illustrated in Table 2: A Comparison of the Regional Distribution of EIP Projects-1991, Table 3: A Summary of CIDA-Funded Students. Table 4: A Summary of ICDS and CIDA's Perception of Canadian Universities' Roles in International Development provides a comparison of aid policies in relation to expectations for the university's involvement in development activities and their correlation to its academic mandates of teaching, research and community service.linkage programs.

The chapter then concludes by summarizing the implications of CIDA's changing aid policies and the growing internationalization of education movement for universities' current and future educational roles in international development and their traditional academic mandates of teaching, research and community service. The discussion ends with an analysis of the university's ability to influence development policies and practices through representative agencies such as the AUCC and CBIE.

4.1 Analysis of CIDA's Aid Policies for the 90s

It is important to examine and clarify the development policies currently guiding Canadian universities' development roles. Therefore, this section begins with an in-depth discussion of CIDA's educational policies in relation to the Educational Partnership Program which provides $840 million to support institutional linkages between Canadian and Third World universities, colleges, unions, cooperatives, business groups, and multilateral organizations. CIDA's highly bureaucratic administrative structure is also examined to illustrate its reactive interrelationship with EATIC, and the limitations of the agency's power in influencing foreign aid policies. A copy of CIDA's 1991 organizational structure has been provided in Appendix II to illustrate how its role in policy reform is restricted by the distribution of decision-making powers.[1]

Critics argue that development remains a problem in the 1990s because of three key factors. The most critical factor is the continued lack of a general consensus at a national and an international level, on the objectives of development and the means by which it can be achieved. Secondly, it is evident that over forty years of development policies and practices have had a limited impact on underdeveloped countries' ability to expand sufficient human and physical resources to improve the quality of life for the majority of the population. And thirdly, attempts to re-allocate resources and achieve broader development objectives have been "sub-optimal and perennially frustrated," because many interest groups working in and between the Third World and industrialized nations are promoting their individual interests (OECD, 1988). These factors are insightful in understanding the limited success of CIDA in influencing foreign aid policy reform to incorporate a more humanitarian development paradigm.

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[1] For an in-depth critical analysis of CIDA's organizational structure, see Groupe Secor, 1991 Strategic Management Review Report and Working Document.

As a crown corporation CIDA, like many other government agencies, is vulnerable to fiscal uncertainties and organizational and policy competition. Thus it has been scripted, under the direction of the Department of External Affairs and the historical influence of American foreign policy, to play a "responsive" or unreflexive role in international development. The limitations of CIDA's current bureaucratic role in aid policy reform can be attributed to three key factors. First and foremost, "CIDA is neither the master of its own policy framework nor its budget. Secondly, it has no autonomy because it has no separate statutory existence; in reality, it is an executive creation which operates as a 'department' for the purposes of the Financial Administration Act" (Smith, 1992:89-91). And thirdly, CIDA's equitable representation at the Cabinet level is "limited by its placement within the portfolio of the Minister of External Affairs. CIDA's job has been to carry out its assigned foreign policy tasks and to keep the peace with as many constituencies as possible, while staying out of trouble and out of the way of more centrally placed bureaucratic actors" (ibid: 89-91). These attendant factors have not only set highly restrictive boundaries for CIDA as an executing development agency, they have also seriously delimited universities' roles in development. The interplay of these key actors' in international development has, and continues to be, a source of internal ideological conflicts which are often revealed in the contrast between CIDA aid policies and development practices.

By the end of the 1980s, CIDA and other aid agencies had learned a number of harsh development lessons. However, they had not learned the key lesson. The failure of aid was still attributed to the limitations of macro-economic policies and "quick-fix" structural adjustment programs in addressing social inequalities (Riddell, 1992). In 1980, policy statements pushed for recognition of a new international economic order "which will promote more equitable distribution of resources and opportunities for all people" (CIDA, 1980). The Canadian government was even more candid in its statements about development policies. In 1983, Deputy Minister and Secretary of State for External Affairs, Allan MacEachern identified **interdependence** as the development lesson of the 1980s. MacEachern stated that:

> ...Because of these interdependencies and because of international finance and credit are the lifeblood of the world's economy, it is in our national interest to ensure for instance, that the vital stream of concessional funding and adjustment assistance continues to flow to the developing countries ... In fact, Canada has a vested interest in the most practical dollars and cents terms, in ensuring their survival, because they are tomorrow's markets.
> (CIDA, 1982: 33)

Economic interdependence has continued to be the driving force behind many development initiatives in the Third World, but in the 1990s this perspective has been carefully couched in development rhetoric which equates democratic reform with economic development. Increasingly, donors argue for the need to link aid with political reforms and human rights. In a speech given at the International Symposium on Democratization and Development in Japan, in October, 1991, Julian Payne, Director General of the Operations Services Branch of CIDA, stated that four "mutually reinforcing currents" appear to have been "pushing the issue of democratization and development into the fore in Canadian thinking". First, growing global concern over human rights issues in developing countries and Canadian foreign policy objectives of international peace and security have raised an awareness that "democratization is a, if not *the*, most effective channel for improving the protection of human rights permanently." Secondly, the dramatic political upheavals in Latin America, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union illustrate that public interest in democratization is growing. This movement in turn, has led governments of developing countries to seek financial support for such initiatives. And last and "most important, CIDA has increasingly realized that our economic and social development assistance as traditionally defined, planned and delivered needs to be expanded to include political development in the broadest sense, for our development efforts to be sustainable" (Payne, 1991).

These political "truths" were instrumental in re-aligning industrialized nations' development policies with issues of poverty alleviation, democracy and human rights, and economic growth (OECD, 1988; IMF 1991; World Bank 1991; CIDA, 1988,1992). Like the 1950s, these issues have again become central to Canada's ODA principles or "pillars". Thus the new criteria for aid eligibility addressed Canada's interests and concerns to:

- attack global poverty
- respect the importance of human rights in deciding which countries to work with; and
- strengthen links with the developing world, which are important to Canada and Canadians
(CIDA,1987:28)

The link between aid, political reforms and human rights is hardly new in Canadian ODA; the realpolitik of modernization policies of the 1950s was aimed at eradicating the spread of communism through promotion of Western democracy and capitalism. What is new however, is the shift in the target audience and change in the mechanisms used for the delivery for these development policies. While CIDA's policies can be attributed to the current political and economic climate in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, they are also the outcome of three key theoretical assumptions about the nature of democracy and its correlation to economic development. Critical analysis of CIDA policy documents from 1987-1993 and subsequent media statements made by CIDA officials reveal that current development activities in the Third World and Eastern Europe are informed by development policies which are based on the assumption that liberal democracy is the best model for social and economic reform. It is also assumed that conflict resolution can be achieved in the Third World by establishing a formal-legal democratic mechanism. This strategy is based on an even larger supposition, namely the belief that liberal democracies can be reproduced through technical assistance from democratic countries like Canada (Perez, 1992: 147-152).

These key points were raised in Julian Payne's speech at the International Symposium on Democratization and Development in Tokyo. He indicated that "working assumptions of democracy" should include "a legal or institutional framework for some form of freely and fairly elected representative government, the rule of law, an independent judiciary, respect for human rights and the subordination of military and security forces to civil authority." Other fundamentals would include "a pluralistic and participatory society" and good governance in which a wide variety of NGO's and NGI's, can foster "a culture of democracy" by "[serving] as schools for democracy, teaching their members the value of free expression, compromise and political action" (Payne,1991:12-15).

CIDA policy documents discuss at length the importance of democratic practices and institutions in fostering development in the Third World, yet the concept of democracy is never defined in policy statements. Instead, liberal democracy is used as a "working" definition of democracy to guide CIDA policies and practices. Embedded in this definition is the concept of political pluralism which is supported as a viable mechanism to represent the diverse demands of special groups while at the same time upholding public interest (Perez, 1992: 149). The goal of pluralistic and participatory societies is to avoid polarization of groups and conflict by giving all important social forces a legal avenue of expression though the constitution. However, Guatamalan and Canadian experiences have illustrated that pluralism cannot guarantee participation, nor can participatory democracy necessarily guarantee equality (Dawkins, 1986; Alladin, 1992; Perez, 1992). In reality, there are two contradictory forces in action. The force of ideal democracy (structural equality at all levels) would require a radical qualitative change through social, economic and political re-structuring. The formal-legal mechanism, in contrast, supports quantitative change through meritocratic and technocratic strategies which focus on the material conditions of society instead of changes in the social structures.

The assumption that the political behaviours concommitment with "good governance" and a "culture of democracy" can be developed through the institutional mechanisms of education and democracy is shortsighted. It not only overlooks the existing disparity in educational experiences and ignores evidence that education delivered through functionalist educational paradigms tends to perpetuate the status quo. In addition, the liberal-democratic model of internationalization assumes that the assimilation of knowledge and attitudes related to politics, the government and citizenship constitute an understanding of the political process itself and is sufficient motivation for social action. If social action is the objective of using democratization as a development tool, then human rights should evolve from increased opportunities for critical dialogue, negotiation and social practice, not abstract, philosophical theorization and speculation (Burke, 1972: 152; Swift & Tomlinson, 1991; Newson & Buchbinder, 1988).

These contradictions present a serious challenge to the development of cooperative partnerships between Canadian and Third World institutions. In the context of institutional linkages, the imbalance of power lies not with the lack of shared responsibility but rather with the disparity in shared authority. While the current movement to decentralize the CIDA bureaucracy can be perceived as an attempt to re-distribute development power more equitably, it is evident that the re-distribution of development roles and responsibilities within the existing social structure in Canada is merely a diversion strategy to legitimize its shift in aid to the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The decision-making power with regard to development policies remains with External Affairs, CIDA and the Canadian partners, thus perpetuating asymmetrical development partnerships. Closer examination of CIDA's corporate policies of internationalization and development reveals human capital and modernization development models re-packaged and sold in the development rhetoric of HRD and sustainable development. In reality, innovation in policy-making has been limited. Instead of addressing the radical ideological contradictions underlying CIDA's aid policies and educational practices, attention has mainly focused on fiscal and bureaucratic re-structuring (Groupe Secor, 1991; EIP, 1992).

Critical evaluation of CIDA's organizational and management structure reveals the limitations of its highly centralized, bureaucratic structure. Its attempt to "be all things to all people is a major impediment to effective aid delivery.and to the development of 'true' partnerships" (CIDA, 1987, 1989; Groupe Secor, 1991:28). In response to this report and other criticisms, CIDA has instituted a number of major structural policy reforms since 1987. In particular, two major policy changes outlined in Sharing Our Future "42 Steps to Better Cooperation" are significant because they delineate the economic and political conditionality of Canadian ODA and delimit the role of educational partnerships in international development. The following revisions in policy were made in Sharing Our Future, (CIDA, 1987: 93-94):

> Each year, Cabinet will establish confidential five-year bilateral planning figures for each country eligibility, using criteria which take account of:
>
> - the country's needs;
> - the country's commitment and capacity to manage aid effectively;
> - the quality of the country's economic and social policies, or its commitment to improve its policies;
> - Canada's political and economic relations with the country;
> - the country's human rights record;
> - the country's commitment to involving its population in development
>
> One-half of Canadian aid will be allocated to financing the efforts of national and international partners in the development process. The main characteristic of this Partnership Program is that such groups are responsible for planning and carrying out their own program and projects.

These recommendations outlined in the "42 Steps" were instrumental in re-directing CIDA's ODA delivery through NGO's, NGI's and the private sector, thus enhancing opportunities for university and business partnerships. More important, this policy enlarged and diversified the university's development by encompassing strategic plans to facilitate "human resource development", "capacity-building" and "structural-adjustment...with a human face" (CIDA, 1989:53). Smaller scale, long-term development initiatives to facilitate democracy and economic growth have become characteristic of new ODA priorities. However, these policies, are not unique to Canada; they are actually mirror-images of US aid policies delivered through the World Bank.[2] In summary, the strategies outlined in the aid policies for 1990s are more illustrative of the development paradigms raised in the Brandt and Pearson and Winegard Reports rather than the creation of a new development paradigm. The perpetuation of structural adjustment programs and the growing support for the role of the market in development by donors and policy-makers reveal the continued dominance of economic rationalism. The development policies of the 1950s and 60s used aid to create conditions for the market to operate. In 1970, it was used to compensate for market failure. In the 1980s it was used to remove distortions which prevented the market from functioning efficiently, now however, the trend has shifted. In the 1990s, for the first time in history, all three perspectives of the market have been incorporated into development policies (Riddell, 1992: 10). The market-oriented approach to aid conditionality was reinforced further by Marcel Masse's return from a position as the Canadian executive Director at IMF to the CIDA presidency. The influence of his IMF experiences is illustrated in his public speech in November, 1989 in which he stated that:

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[2] These development strategies parallel strategies used by the Word Bank in Africa which focus on "capacity-building" and HRD through the PAPSCA program in Ghana and more recently, PAMSCAD in Uganda (World Bank, 1991) Canada 's initiative to support democratization is illustrated in its Canadian Education Program for South Africa (CEPSA) which finances education and training programs "to lay the foundations for a non-racist, non-sexist and democratic South Africa". (Payne, 1991)

> As the decade closes with the market approach to economic growth in spectacular triumph over the planned economies of Eastern Europe and their centralized allocation of resources- structural adjustment looks more relevant with each day that passes. (Swift & B. Tomlinson, 1991: 13)

The ideological underpinning of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) illustrates a firm belief in free-market capitalism. The perpetuation of structural adjustment policies clearly demonstrates continued faith in the central role of the market in the development process (Riddell, 1992: 10). However, SAP policies are inherently contradictory to the promotion of democratization, especially in terms of enhancing indigenous participation and support of sustainable development initiatives. The mandate to "help people help themselves" implies that the Third World will be given greater control over their development process. In reality, SAP's have a long history of creating greater dependencies. In many cases, the rationale of CIDA and the World Bank to address poverty alleviation through structural adjustment programs (SAP's) is seen by critics such as Bello and Rosenfeld (1990), UNCTAD and UNICEF as a regressive step. Eric Kieran, in his publication, Globalism and the Nation-State (1984: 53-54) contends that the potential for fostering sustainable development in Third World countries is severely limited under SAP's. The laissez-faire capitalistic ideology which underlies SAP's is "... purely a mechanistic vision of efficiency...[which does not] accept the intervention of the nation-state with its own ideas of how output and distribution should be pursued. More fundamentally, globalism cannot tolerate politics, the system by which peoples express their preferences and determine their priorities as a community". Thus the globalization and internationalization movements are perceived by some critics as counterhegemonic to democratization and development. However, a weakness in Kieran's argument is his use the terms "globalization" and "internationalization" synonymously. An outcome of this practice is that the use of this type of political analysis in discussions of education and development practices becomes more confusing.

CIDA qualifies its SAP policies by stating that "...CIDA desks should seek to ensure that adjustment packages (and the conditionalities contained therein) show appropriate sensitivity to and provisions for both the 'human face' dimension and other long-term development goals" (CIDA, 1989:53). In practice however, a number of

CIDA's structural adjustment policies parallel the World Bank' SAP policies. The 1989 Structural Adjustment: Working Paper for the 4 A's states that CIDA's structural adjustment programs are conducted "with the support/approval of the IMF and World Bank" (Ruggles,1991: 16).

These policies are of special significance to the discussion because CIDA (1991) and the World Bank (1989), also indicated that the education and training sector in particular will be faced with the challenge of meeting development needs in the context of SAP's. The rationale is for this strategy is that:

> The social impact of structural adjustment programs needs to be moderated by socially sound design features and by special measures to help vulnerable groups. Coordination with other donor agencies becomes increasingly important especially since the World Bank estimates that up to half of its lending for education will be in the form of sector adjustment lending.
> (CIDA, 1992: 16)

The World Bank contends that structural adjustments are sound "program, policies and institutional changes necessary to modify the structure of an economy so that it can restore or maintain its growth, and viability in its balance of payments, over a medium term" (World Bank, 1989). However, critics of SAP policies argue that its conditionality on trade and fiscal policies, the agricultural sector, financial policies and public enterprise reform, ignore issues such as equitable income distribution, access to basic services, minimum consumption needs and mortality (UNICEF, 1990: 11).

Despite the fact that 45 per cent of bilateral aid has been focused on Africa since 1987, (CIDA,1987:92), people like Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) are critical of programs which rely on structural adjustment. Testifying to the House of Commons Committee on External Affairs, Professor Adedji argued that SAP's are responsible for the withdrawal of vital food subsidies, a dramatic decline in real wages, massive lay-offs of public sector workers and critical cutbacks in social services in African countries. He and many other critics feel rather than meeting the needs of their own people, SAPs have promoted a highly monopolized global economy in which underdeveloped countries are forced to adjust their economic plans to meet the capital accumulation strategies of powerful transnational corporations (Adedeji, 1990: 11-12).

This link between the market and development is further reinforced in CIDA's bilateral aid policies by bringing together universities and the private sector through bilateral and multilateral aid and development partnerships. In an attempt to create the pre-conditions for market-based development, CIDA argues that:

> One of the biggest lessons learned from a generation of experience is that development is not going to work very well until it includes the Third World's private sector. The real goal of development cooperation is to help Third World countries advance toward self-reliant prosperity, so that they can become equal partners with industrialized countries in creating global prosperity. Developing countries must be able to earn their living by producing goods and services that meet demand, and selling them on the international market-functions at which the private sector excels. (1987: 59)

It is argued that universities and businesses which focus on development projects targeting HRD and capacity-building in the public and private sectors are most successful in obtaining ODA funds (UA:A1, 1992; UBC:A1,1992). However, the use of SAP strategies in development assistance has serious implications for the nature of Canadian universities' development roles. SAP policies influence the distribution of bilateral aid, scholarships and training which account for approximately fifty-nine per cent of CIDA's total budget for 1990/91.[3]

In addition, bilateral aid policies and SAP's also have a profound influence on human resource development in the Third World. An UNCTAD study (1975) indicated that Canada was one of the primary recipients of human capital from the Third World, especially skilled and educated professionals:

> Between 1963-1972, Canada admitted 56,000 skilled immigrants from developing countries whose talents had an imputed value of $11.5 billion. Canada's total aid flow to the Third World during that same period was $2.3 billion therefore the crude net profit from brain-drain was $9.2 billion to Canada.

The brain-drain is also evident in the increasing number of international graduate students studying at Canadian universities (see Table 4) and represents a lucrative market for human capital at a time when the Canadian labor force is declining in numbers due to the "greying" of the population (Economic Council of Canada, 1992). Government and business exploitation of this potential HRD "market" is facilitated through universities' involvement in bilateral aid projects. The implications of this trend are discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

Under the direction of current CIDA policies, HRD projects and institutional linkages established through government-to-government development assistance take the form of bilateral aid. Since bilateral policies frequently call upon the Canadian private sector for the implementation of projects, an increasing number of partnerships between businesses and universities have evolved, thus facilitating potential networks between the private sector and international students. However, with the decease in education and development funding, NGO's and NGI's have also become major competitors with the private sector for scarce financial resources, therefore the government has adapted its policies to favour joint R&D initiatives and programs. As a result of these partnerships, universities are moving deeper into the highly competitive international economic arena.

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[3] On Feb.5 /93, Marcel Masse, President of CIDA announced to the House of Commons finance subcommittee that Canada was trying to do too much for too many by spreading its aid to 136 recipients in the Third World. But indicated that it is also in Canada's best interest to "strongly support the work being carried out by institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and regional development banks." Eighteen per cent of Canada's ODA is spent through these institutions (CIDA,1992)

In 1990-1991, CIDA's $2.16 billion budget was divided between the National Initiatives Program and the Partnership Program thereby providing $1.28 billion for bilateral aid, scholarships and training programs, jointly operated by Canadian and international multilateral organizations, business groups, unions, cooperatives, universities and international organizations.

In 1989, Canadian universities received a substantial portion (28 per cent of the bilateral development assistance), in support of education and training programs. Of the 185 CIDA bilateral HRD projects funded in 1991, $315 million was used for active education and training projects in Asia, $245 million in Francophone Africa, $185 million in Anglophone Africa and $145 million in the Caribbean and Latin America. A total of $1.2 billion was also allotted to 100 bilateral projects in other sectors such as agriculture and energy which have large training components and are coordinated by Canadian education specialists (Ruggles, 1991: 18). In addition to their numerous international linkages, the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia are actively involved in bilateral aid projects in China and Thailand. The funding for these projects is four times the amount allotted to ICDS contracts even though the programs are operated for less than half the time period of institutional linkages (see Appendix VI). Funding for bilateral projects range from $2 to $10 million as compared to the $500,000 for ICDS institutional linkages, therefore many universities perceive them to be more prestigious. in enhancing their international reputation. Even though ICDS linkages were acknowledged by project coordinators as having the potential to "attract high quality professors and a better crop of students," in reality the greater appeal of ICDS projects was their function as stepping stones to more lucrative contracts with CIDA's bilateral or multi-lateral donors, the World Bank and Regional Development Banks (EIP, 1992: 58; UA: A1, 1992; UBC: A1, 1992).

CIDA argues that their bilateral programs overcome the negative social impact of other SAP's programs by having a strategic partnership orientation to projects. The partnership policies are aimed at fostering human resource development capacity and strengthening institutional capacity of Third World institutions. However, the bureaucratic process for approval of these projects is a cumbersome one, so achieving the objective of putting poverty first is more difficult.[4] More significantly, the guidelines for the delivery of bilateral aid through university partnerships are more focused on adapting and managing social institutions than changing them to address structural inequalities. Although investigation of bilateral projects is beyond the scope of this study, it has been raised at this point in this discussion to illustrate the influence of internal and external political and economic forces on CIDA's development policies which in turn, are shaping the character and direction of Canadian universities' development roles.

The decline in educational investments, accompanied by the expanding qualitative and quantitative gap in educational access and outcome between industrialized and developing countries were cited as key motivating factors for implementing HRD strategies in development programs. Thus, CIDA policies focus on:

> the process of developing within the individual, group or institution capacities for self-sustained learning, generation of technology and implementation of development services.
> (CIDA, 1987: 14)

In particular, education and training are identified as the core components of HRD, while institution-building, research and development and social communication are viewed as the strategic mechanisms to achieve this goal (CIDA, 1991: 47). The Education and Training Strategy Paper published by CIDA's Educational Policy and Planning Branch (1991) acknowledged that in order to foster human resource development, a combination of SAP's and bilateral aid are needed. The following revised bilateral aid policies indicate that the Government has agreed that particular attention should be given to the implementation of structural adjustment with a human face. What these policies fail to specify however, is how a "human face" can be put on aid when it is delivered within highly restrictive aid conditionalities. The CIDA policies state an:

> Acceptance that Canada in its bilateral program support investments in social and human development [is] concommitant to macro-economic adjustment so that the burden of policy reform falls least heavily on the poor.
>
> Acceptance that basic needs human development element be integrated into all bilateral country programming and that human resource development,

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[4] Ministerial approval is required for projects exceeding $5 million and Treasury Board approval is required for projects exceeding $15 million. A time period of 18-24 months is required from the project design stage to the contract negotiations which delays the project delivery to the Third World significantly in comparison to the turn-around time in ICDS linkage projects.

> especially that of benefit to the poorest people; particularly women [should] be considered a criteria of all bilateral aid rather than only a single sector; concentration.
>
> The Government indicated it would undertake training programs and/or assist in the development of local institutions capable of human resource training to ensure the proper use and maintenance for new projects that supply goods and equipment. (CIDA, 1989: 35)

The contradictory nature of The Educational Policy and Planning Department policies and practices is illustrated in the expectation that the use of human capital strategies to promote quantitative economic expansion. through capacity-building and structural adjustment with HRD strategies has the concommitant effect of improving in the quality of life of the general population. In this context, education is also viewed as the key mechanism to facilitate this development. The policy states that "education must not be considered only in economic terms, but also in terms of enriching the intellectual, spiritual and social capacities of people," (CIDA, 1991: 3-5). Despite the inherent contradictions, this perspective is an integral component of a number of Canadian universities' development mission statements (Wasilewski, 1990; AUCC, 1991). This point is explored in greater depth in Chapters Five and Six, the case studies of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia.

The principles which guide capacity-building and HRD are intended to use Canadian educational expertise as the catalyst for democratization and economic growth, and human resource development. From this perspective, CIDA defines HRD as:

> the key that can unlock potential talent and abilities, opening the way to social and economic progress... and Canada can offer a broad range of high-quality resources in this field.
> Canada's new strategy for development cooperation boosts the emphasis on human resource development... and proposes a range of actions designed to make "thinking human resources" a hallmark of Canadian aid. (1987: 36)

However, the use of "thinking human resources" in foreign aid is increasingly being directed by corporate models of internationalization and human capital paradigms. A CIDA officer identified the challenge to universities as the ability to "make certain you have everybody with you, on your side, including the stakeholders in Canada and still try to do sustainable development... Yes, our objective is to stay in development, but at the same time one of the concerns and the items of interest to the Canadian community who are supporting us with tax dollars is development assistance in Canada." (CIDA: 1, 1991)

Some CIDA administrators deny that marketing Canadian HRD is also a development strategy for national economic growth, arguing that "CIDA doesn't export

HRD. It is not our objective. CIDA is involved in providing development systems. The spin-off is the fact that developing countries have become familiar with HRD" (CIDA: 1, 1991). However, this description of HRD practices parallels a market or corporate approach to internationalization and development. CIDA's technocratic conceptualization of HRD has facilitated a closer link between educational and economic policies. This trend has been well received by a number of economists, university administrators, educators, and politicians who argue that better development programs are produced when Canadians self-interest is acknowledged (Payne, 1992; Howarth, 1991; McNeal, 1982; OECD, 1990; Secretary of State, 1991).

This corporate rationality is further evidenced in recent government initiatives to designate Canadian HRD capacity as "a highly competitive export product" through the use of Export Promotion grants (PEMD) and Regional Industrial Innovation (DRII) grants usually reserved for the export of manufactured goods (Simpson, 1989: 7; 19). In order to meet the increasing demand for Canadian HRD and to capitalize on global competition in science and technology, there is increasing pressure on buffer organizations such as the AUCC and CBIE to act as knowledge-brokers for Canadian universities' R&D skills in the Third World, Eastern Europe and the Pacific Rim.[5] As a result, Canadians have been accused by some outspoken critics in the Third World of becoming "a nation of hustlers posing as educators." (Simpson, 1989:25)

What is lacking in current foreign aid policy-making is a recognition of the inherently contradictory development goals of democratic reform and capitalist expansion. Faced with this challenge, some universities are trying align their traditional academic mandates with corporate and liberal internationalization paradigms in an attempt to integrate education, aid and trade. This international dimension to university education is hardly a new phenomenon. What is new however, is the increasing pressure (under the guise of internationalization and development) to corporatize higher education. The current restructuring of CIDA management aimed at creating a "knowledge-based agency" and the recommendation by Department of External Affairs and International Trade to review ODA policy and expand support for commercial and trade programs to middle-income countries and Central and Eastern Europe (ACTIONAID, 1993: 10) appear to be accelerating the process of corporatization because of their influence in expanding universities' role in economic development.

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[5] A marketing example is the Three Universities in International Development brochure distributed by the University of Alberta, Laval and McGill Universities. The University of Guelph has also established an independent company to market their R & D expertise. An in-depth analysis of these HRD marketing strategies is covered in Chapters Five and Six and a more detailed analysis of the implications of AUCC and CBIE knowledge-broker.roles is explored at the end of this chapter.

In the current global economic environment, the market is assuming an even larger role in directing development aid to create an environment for expansion of the private sector. In response, Canadian ODA is flooding in to the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and technical assistance and education and training programs are being implemented to build the institutional capacity and HRD in their private sector and educational institutions. This assistance was offered despite the fact that Russia and the other Commonwealth of Independent States currently owe Canada more than $480 million in debt payments, in addition to a $1.5 billion line of credit.

The shift in aid away from the Third World may be indicative of a fourth perspective of the role of the market in development; the withdrawal of aid in this context is based on the assumption that its infusion in developing countries undermines the efficient operation of the market. These policies are also reminiscent of policies under Thatcher and Reagan. However, Riddell (1987: 174) argues that this rightist perspective overlooks the practical considerations facing Third World countries whose financial need for investment to improve domestic resources have grown exponentially.

These pressures to shift of CIDA's development policies to favour a market model of development are having serious repercussions for development partnerships between Canada and the Third World. A senior CIDA official (Payne, 1991) argues that the difficulty of trying to balance human rights and democratization with structural adjustment programs is heightened by the lack of any widely accepted international organization to foster consistency in development strategies by coordinating the development of a macro-economic policy and supporting democratization strategies. However, other critics argue that it is the policies and practices of industrialized nations to universalize and internationalize education and the labor force which is actually undermining the democratization of the Third World (Galbraith, 1967; Torres, 1991; Toh, 1980).

It is argued that CIDA's ability to deliver aid programs which foster more humanistic models of sustainable development in the Third World is limited by four key factors. First and foremost, it is the agency's lack of autonomy in fiscal matters, policy-making and management and its limited representation at the Cabinet level have relegated the agency to a reflexive role in international development. Its limited political power is further challenged by the lack of a legitimate, coherent ideological framework for development and a critical vision to apply its ODA principles to concrete realities. These limitations are exascerbated by continuous tension and instability brought on by internal philosophical conflicts with the Department of External Affairs (Pratt, 1992; Miller, 1992).

The combination of these factors has created a third dilemma which has kept CIDA officials pre-occupied with administrative and bureaucratic goals at the expense of innovation and leadership in international development. It appears that the agency is being increasing co-opted by economic and technocratic forces in order to pursue "the business of development." These factors lead us to the fourth limitation, the reality that Canada "is not an independent actor on the stage of world politics" (Allahar, 1991: 302). Because of its current economic status in the larger global economic community, and its close political and economic ties to the U. S., Canada and CIDA is restricted to a unreflexive role in foreign aid.[6]

If the federal government and CIDA find their political and economic power restricted by internal and external economic forces, then the universities' role in this context is even more limited. At a global level, the pressures to expand their technocratic role in international development, have posed a number of significant challenges to their academic and development mandates. It is also clear that at a national level, internal conflicts within CIDA's organizational structure and its ongoing ideological debates with the Department of External Affairs have created a climate of tension and instability which has made the delivery of ICDS projects an even more difficult task. How then are development policies transformed into educational practices at the university level? An a closer examination of the ICDS Division of CIDA offers some insights into this process.

4.2 Transforming Development Policies into Practice: An Analysis of ICDS Policies and Practices

The Trudeau era attempted to harness the social activism of the 1960s and early 70s in support of its "Just Society" philosophy, and was illustrative of the governments' early attempts to decentralize its national and international social-service functions through government-funded volunteer organizations such as NGO's and NGI's (Murphy, 1991). Since the 1970s, the development role of NGO's and NGI's have grown exponentially as the government attempts to distance itself from development in the Third World. Greater pressure is being applied on communities to subsidize the government's development efforts through its volunteer activities (ibid: 168). The expansion of Canadian university's role in international development is justified by foreign aid policies which assume that the lack of educational opportunities (underdeveloped "HRD capacity") is the cause of social, economic and political inequalities. The organizational structure of higher education is perceived as a viable mechanism to promote pluralism, diversity and liberal democracy ("institution-building.") The Western structures technocratic rationalism which have guided this transitional process has created what John Ralston Saul refers to as a new "religion" of development in which this technocratic form of education is applied to the training of all professional.In this new development paradigm:

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[6] Over the past twenty years,Canada has generated a $ 650 billion debt, the largest fiscal debt , per capita, of any country in the world, and it is expected that the combined federal and provincial debt will exceed the 100% mark as a percentage of GDP sometime this year. Even more significant is the fact that 30% of that debt is held abroad, giving Canada the dubious distinction of holding the largest foreign debt (in proportion to its GDP) of any leading economy.

> ...the technocrat who sets out to build or to fight is convinced that he is equipped with the greatest good of all time: [that is] the understanding of a system for reasoning and the possession of the equipment which fulfils that system, thus providing the concrete manifestations of its logic.
> (1992: 22 - 23)

The limitations of these assumptions are even more profound when examined in the context of the highly bureaucratic and meritocratic structures of higher education in both Canada and the Third World. CIDA's decentralization of development delivery to NGO's and NGI's is based on the assumption that the public sectors in most Third World countries are more politicized. Therefore, grassroots participation in development can be best facilitated through the Special Programs Branch where greater risk-taking and stronger values-based programming is possible because of smaller-scale development projects (CIDA,1 987, 1992; .Miller, 1992; Murphy, 1991). Therefore university and NGO involvement is funded and facilitated by CIDA and ICDS because:

> The Government wants to help Canada's non-governmental institutions expand their valuable work in the Third World, and expects to increase the support provided for their development initiatives through CIDA's Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Program (ICDS). The importance given to human resource development in Canada's new strategy ensures that NGI's already very active in this field will be called on to make an even more important contribution in the future.
> (CIDA,1987: 69)

However, forty decades of development have proven that the reproduction of Western organizational structures and technology does not necessarily facilitate effective "nstitution-building" and "HRD capacity-building". In some cases, it may exacerbate structural inequalities when information flows unilaterally. While NGOs and NGIs have a relatively good track record of community service, their overall impact on development in the Third World is limited by their minimal political and economic power. Universities and NGI's have less direct interaction with the general community.

It is likely that the expansion of NGOs and NGIs involvement in the delivery of development programs, is a strategic effort on the part of the government to distance itself from any direct involvement in grassroots social movements thereby maintaining its diplomatic role as an international peace keeper. It is evident that the contradictions between foreign policies and development policies abound. Despite a renewed policy emphasis on the issues of human rights and democratic reform, the government's continued aid and trade concessions to China, recent cutbacks to development aid in Africa and the lack of human rights dialogue in North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA, 1992) discussions speaks volumes of its real agenda.

Like CIDA policies, the creation of the ICDS Division and its development mandates is based on an ahistorical and legalistic view of democratic reform in the Third World.[7] Therefore the transformation of CIDA aid policies into practice is directed more by technocratic rationalism than an understanding of Third World political economy. The 1992 EIP Evaluation Report confirms this, stating that:

> ...EIP activities within CIDA are to a large extent of a managerial nature: CIDA determines program policies to be followed by Canadian educational institutions, calls for university project proposals, coordinates university project selection and makes the final selection **[through the Minister]**, concludes funding or contribution agreements, controls and follows up projects and budgets, authorizes payments and undertakes project evaluations. (1992: 13)
> [emphasis added]

As a consequence, the ICDS Branch and, in turn, Canadian universities continue to play to a 'responsive' or reactive role in development. Yet the mandate of the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Branch (ICDS) of CIDA is to encourage universities to become more directly involved in the process of development through institutional linkages "to foster joint ventures between home and foreign institutions which both derive benefit from cooperative efforts as equal partners in development." (CIDA,198O: 12) Specifically, the objectives of the ICDS program are to:

a) share the expertise and resources of Canadian educational institutions with those of their developing country counterparts
b) to enable developing country institutions to contribute more effectively to their respective countries' priority development needs
c) to expand the knowledge and experience of Canadian institutions in the process (CIDA, 1988: i)

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[7] It is ironic to note that while Canada and other industrialized nations directly attribute their histories to their own social, economic and political development, when framing development policies and strategies in the Third World, they have a tendency to deny all history to underdeveloped countries (Frank, 1971).

While the objectives clearly indicate support for a reciprocal process of development, they give no indication how this can be achieved. Before development policies and educational practices can be coordinated and integrated between Canadian and Third World universities, it is important to re-examine the root causes of underdevelopment more critically. For most underdeveloped countries, there are three critical problems which hinder the productivity of higher education in development. The first is cost; many developing nations are hard-pressed to provide education to the entire population and the global trend for the universalization of primary education has had serious repercussions for economic growth. The rising expectations in the Third World has created a growth rate in higher education which has outpaced lower levels of education to the degree that the unit cost per public university student in 1980 was 370 per cent of the per capita GNP as compared to 49 per cent in industrialized nations. A UNESCO study reports that the support given to one university student could finance the education of as many as fifty primary school students (UNESCO, 1990). The problem of balancing economic efficacy with equality of educational opportunity has been compounded by the global economic crisis and over-investment in higher education in the Third World. (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Leys, 1971). The rapid expansion of higher education opportunities in the context of an underdeveloped labour market, has also resulted in the "educated-unemployed," the "educated-under-employed," and the "brain-drain" phenomena (Dore, 1976). Thus, the under-utilization of human resources for social and economic productivity in developing countries has critically hampered the development process.

The second major problem is the critical underdevelopment and mismanagement of human and physical resources. The teaching profession in developing countries has been unable to keep pace with the rapid expansion of education and many areas lack the physical and human resources to meet the demand for higher education. Regional disparities in education opportunities have grown due to the rapid expansion of urban populations, and the increased migration from rural areas has compounded the imbalance between urban and rural areas. Debates continue over the issue of formal or nonformal education to alleviate poverty, and human resource development is hindered by the decline in the quality of public education and the rise in the number of private institutions which cater to an economic minority but do not necessarily address the development needs of the country (Leys, 1971; Schiefelbein, 1983).

The most critical problem which hinders the productivity of higher education in the Third World is the inherent difficulty in promoting social change through neo-colonial institutions. They are deeply rooted in colonial experiences and are therefore often highly resistant to change. As a direct consequence of the relatively poor quality of higher education in Third World universities, they continue to be highly dependent on basic research and knowledge produced at the Center thus perpetuating asymmetrical education and development relationships (Carnoy, 1990; Kwapong, 1975).

Combined, these factors seriously challenge the underlying theoretical framework of CIDA and ICDS education and development policies. In addition, the assumption that Third World universities serve the same function as Western universities in social, political and economic development is shortsighted and dangerous. It is doubtful that development can be achieved solely through external inducements which equate pluralism with participation. In addition to the economic restraints, Galbraith and other critics contend that the state's promotion of the "knowledge industry" has been a decisive factor in the expansion of advanced-capitalist societies (Galbraith, 1967). Critical evaluation of Canadian universities' organizational structures reveals the limitations of trying to deliver liberal democratic reforms through institutions which are highly meritocratic and increasingly influenced by corporate organizational models. The stability of an institution is not only based on its formal-legal foundation but more importantly on social consensus for its legitimacy. Legitimacy is a crucial factor in achieving the power to motivate and initiate social change within an institution.

The inability of the ICDS Branch to influence policy change is likely a factor of the strong bureaucratic and technocratic influences exerted by the Department of External Affairs and Trade through CIDA. The weakness in its decision-making power is illustrated in the Canadian Partnership Branch's recent re-structuring of the application and selection process for ICDS funds. The application process was perceived by ICDS officers and some university project coordinators as "highly competitivy"... and "overloaded" (CIDA/2 interview, 1991; UBC: PC/2, 1992; UA: PC4/A4, 1992). As a result of lengthy technocratic introspection at CIDA, re-organization of the aid delivery structure was undertaken in an effort "to achieve greater focus of its funding activities and a more efficient management of [the] internal organization and operation" of the Canadian Partnership Branch. The bureaucratic re-structuring of CIDA created the following changes in the university partnership program:

> The major change embodied in this new arrangement [University Partnerships in Cooperation and Development (UPCD] lies in its desire to support Canadian universities to define for themselves- *at the level of the institution as a whole*-a strategy for involvement in human resource development aspects of international development. The program places substantially increased emphasis on the setting of measurable output objectives and on the development of institutional strategies for their attainment. The program will succeed to the extent that it enables Canadian universities to conceive a strategic view of how they can marshall their

> intellectual and physical resources in order to establish meaningful and sustainable linkages with developing country institutions which play an important role in human resource development. Further, it seeks to identify how the Canadian institutions involved will themselves be better able to contribute to development education in Canada. (CIDA,1993: ii)

In the context of ICDS linkages, the following changes were made:

> the onus for selection, monitoring and evaluation of ICDS projects has been deferred to universities. To achieve this, over the next two years, (1993/5), CPB will replace the three thematic programs- the Public Participation Program (PPP), the Youth Initiatives Program (YIP) and the Management for Change Program (MFC), with a new two-pronged approach to funding which reflects what we believe is a partnership that has fundamentally evolved and matured in 25 years of collaboration.(Martin, 1993)

Rather than beginning their evaluation with a critical examination of the underlying education and development philosophies guiding institutional linkages, the Department reacted by re-structuring the institutional funding process. This decision was rationalized as "a holistic way of approaching how CIDA supports the development efforts of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-governmental institutions (NGIs) which will consolidate programs, reduce administrative burdens and facilitate one-stop shopping." (ibid: 1; Headlin, 1992) The two project restriction set for each university and the onus for selection of appropriate applications placed on each institution, has created a more urgent need for institutionalized development policies in universities. ICDS officials argued that since partnerships are promoted as "institutional linkages", universities should assume a larger role in the monitoring, and evaluation of projects which are conducted in their name (CIDA: 2,1991)

It is ironic that while CIDA policies seek to expand the role of universities in international development, ICDS policies have critically restricted their access to these opportunities. It is also likely that the increased competition for ICDS funds will not only enhance the competition among Canadian institutions but probably within the Faculties and Departments of individual campuses as well. However, it is also likely that the current fiscal restraints may influence some universities to abandon ICDS projects altogether in pursuit of more lucrative linkage contracts available through CIDA's bilateral programs and private sector partnerships.

The discussion in Chapter Two and the preceding examples of changing policies have illustrated how the increasing influence of external economic and political forces, and the efforts of the Department of External Affairs and International Trade to bureaucratize development practices within CIDA has had a dramatic impact in ICDS linkages in the

Third World (EIP, 1988,1992; Groupe Secor, 1991). The quality and effectiveness of ICDS projects has been undermined in three ways. First, increased emphasis on a liberal democratic development paradigm has fragmented the delivery of aid programs among a numerous, diverse "special interest" groups within universities, the public and and private sector, creating an environment in which pluralism has become tempered tolerance rather than dynamic interaction and critical dialogue. The result has been a breakdown in communicative action and in some cases, expensive duplication of development efforts. The decline in education and development funding has fuelled intense competition among universities, the public and private sectors which under the new CIDA policies, are expected to become more cooperate and collaborative in their efforts. Fiscal restraints have given greater rationality to HRD marketing for profit and international prestige. Development projects are also viewed by university administration as an effective strategy for building an international reputation in teaching and research to attract high calibre professors and graduate students; in addition, institutional linkages are seen by some administrators as a viable means of increasing the university or department budget in terms of research funds (EIP, 1992). These factors have resulted in the growing disenfranchisement of Third World partners and the voiceless majority by local elites and dominant Canadian partners. The combination of these factors has impeded the transformation of CIDA and ICDS policies into effective practice at a number of levels.

CIDA acknowledges that education and training initiatives contribute to Canadian economic interests and foreign policy objectives by tapping the international student body as a domestic and global economic resource pool and by facilitating the growth of Canadian institutions and the "educational service industry" (CIDA, 1991: 8). But they qualify that statement by insisting that their policies recognize the inherent dangers of intellectual imperialism and "brain-drain" and by stating that they are making a renewed commitment to human rights particularly in the context of educational development projects by providing support "where possible" to NGO's and other partners. They argue that these goals are achieved through institutional linkages which act as:

> an interactive "joint venture" for the purpose of strengthening the capacity of Third World institutions to meet priority development needs identified by the host country, enabling the partner institutions to undertake substantive programs together which go beyond twinning arrangements involving only an exchange of personnel.
>
> Activities, in addition to planning missions to host institutions, which would qualify as linkages are:
>
> a) training host Faculty, students or personnel in either Canadian or host institutions

b) deployment of Canadian professors "or other experts" to the partner institution
c) consulting services
d) conducting conferences or workshops
e) joint research projects
f) scholarships for study in Canadian institutions
g) provision of equipment, publications, laboratory supplies and other project material
(EIP, 1988: 6)

ICDS policies, like CIDA aid policies, delineate development practices to achieving democratic reform within the context of a universal and self-evident conceptualization of democracy. The emphasis of ICDS policies on "joint research," "partnerships," "sharing expertise" and fostering "joint ventures" are illustrative of a liberal model of internationalization. One of the Division's main objectives is "to expand the knowledge and experience of the Canadian institutions... through participation in development projects" (ICDS, 1988: i). Specifically, the intent is not only to broaden the knowledge and skills in developing countries' institutions but also to enhance the quality of Canadian post-secondary education through reciprocal knowledge transfer and joint research. On a theoretical level, it would appear that the ICDS Branch supports a cooperative approach to development. It is questionable however, whether these institutional linkage programs and projects are indeed "institutional" or whether the relationship are true "partnerships."

Both the 1988 and 1992 EIP Evaluation Reports revealed that the majority of ICDS linkages were in fact initiated and implemented by individual Canadian faculty members. In addition, the 1988 Evaluation report on ICDS projects indicated that there was "the possibility of asymmetrical relationships between Canadian and developing country counterparts." (1988: 9-10) The 1992 Report (1992: iii) identified this asymmetry as one of the major drawbacks to promoting sustainable development, stating that "In the majority of cases, the Canadian institution plays the role of the dominant partner, even if there is a perception of equal partnership on the part of the host institution."

CIDA, AUCC and WUSC documents also cite the broadening of Third World experience for faculty members and students and participation of students from developing countries in Canadian classrooms as the three areas in which Canadian universities have gained the greatest benefit (ICDS, 1988: 74; AUCC, 1991: 68; WUSC, 1989: 1). They maintain that participation of international students in regular university programs has given an international scope to courses which did not previously exist. However, the reports fail to provide adequate empirical evidence to substantiate how these intercultural educational experiences have a positive impact on the quality of education within Canadian institutions. It is assumed that physical proximity facilitates positive interaction. However, in order for positive interaction between Canadian and international students to occur, there must be an internal catalyst or mechanism to facilitate this process. The program coordinators, the professors, and the International Centers on campus are internal agents who have the greatest potential to facilitate this process, however, this type of interaction is limited for a number of reasons and will be outlined in the case studies. In reality, higher education has become a powerful, strategic tool for affecting belief in liberal democratic and capitalist development paradigms by making information and HRD the decisive factor in production (Galbraith, 1986). Therefore the ability to establish to develop cooperative partnerships is critically undermined when education is used to maintain global competitive economic advantage.

CIDA policies have attempted to address a number of these limitations through the ICDS Branch. Three major proposals for education and training at the university level were offered in its Education and Training Strategy Paper. The recommendations were made for CIDA support:

> 1. for universities in LDC's should be based on national HRD strategies that set out institutional and educational priorities, promote linkages among universities, the private sector and the community and promote coordination among donors.
> 2. [for] approaches to university development such as networking among LDC universities at the national and regional levels, involvement by LDC universities in national development programs (e.g. basic education, health) and cooperative academic programs based on partnership with Canadian universities that are consistent with national HRD strategies.
> 3. should include within its general scholarship and training programs local cost components for strengthening national and regional LDC universities (e.g.: increasing access by low income students, reinforcing administration, upgrading staff). This support would help ensure good quality programs for in-country and third-country students.
>
> (1991: 19)

While these policies focus on technocratic strategies to facilitate equitable educational opportunities in the Third World, Table 3 illustrates the lack of coherence between development policies and practice. CIDA's development "pillar" to help the poorest of the poor is not supported in practice as less than 16 per cent of the projects are located in countries which CIDA has designated as the least developed (LLDCs). Of the six projects currently in operation through the University of British Columbia, none are located in a low income country, while the University of Alberta has only one program currently running in a LLDC. In 1991, 65 projects or 51.6 per cent of the EIP projects were located in middle to upper middle income countries. There is also a disproportionate number of projects located in the Asia Pacific (25 projects or 19.8%) and Americas region (48 projects or 38.2%). Of the 126 EIP links, 73 projects (or 57.9 % of the total) are situated in regions where the Canadian government is seeking to expand trade (EEC, 1991; Barney, 1991). The distribution of the projects to countries with repressive governments also illustrates an inconsistency of ICDS practices with CIDA's human rights priorities, and reveals the ethical dilemma of linking aid with democratic reform.

The current shift in foreign policies to favour European and Russian economic reconstruction will likely have a significant impact on the sustainability of these programs. And this problem is compounded by Department of External Affairs and International Trade (EAITC) efforts to encourage Canadian researchers to shift their research interests to the East. (Royal Society of Canada, 1991). EAITC has launched another competition for the "Going Global-Europe" which will allocate "$65,00 to university researchers and professors interested in continued exploration or establishment of new joint technological research and development projects with Western European partners...[and] revival or consolidation of ongoing projects with European partners will also be considered...." (AUCC memo, May 28, 1992). With the current global and national economic crisis, government budgets will continue to come under closer scrutiny. to protect Canadian interests. Don McMaster, Director of the ICDS Branch (Feb. 1993) indicated to the audience in attendance at the University of Alberta's International Week that "Development assistance is important to the future and prosperity of Canada...[and] CIDA doles out 80% of Canada's foreign aid." Therefore it is evident that the competition to capitalize on universities' human and physical resources has created an even greater challenge to the future of Third World institutional linkages and to development aid in general. Although these strategies illustrate an attempt to facilitate economic development in the Third World, it is evident from Table 3 and 4 that CIDA and ICDS development practices are strongly influenced by Canadian foreign policy and the international economic climate.

CIDA controls the election and distribution of CIDA scholarships to international students, and given that Canada is facing a critical shortage of engineers and lack of growth in enrollment in the hard sciences and technology (Secretary of State, 1988; Royal Society of Canada, 1991), the data in Table 4 could reflect a strategic plan on the part of the federal government to tap the human resources of the Third World. The minimal growth in enrollment by Canadian students in the hard sciences has raised serious concerns among politicians, economists and educators and has generated heated debate in the context of discussions of institutional linkages and international development policies.

These trends have created a growing disenfranchisement of the marginal populations in the Third World which is illustrated in Table 4: Summary of the Distribution of CIDA-supported Students. Despite efforts to enhance LDC women's involvement in the development process, they continue to be disproportionately represented in education, particularly at the post-secondary level.While they have greater representation in the Special Programs Branch (33.1% of the total population), they are significantly under-represented in all fields of study (24.9%.of the total). This disparity in enrollment may be attributed to current development policies which support the modernization paradigm; but it may also be a factor of cultural attitudes towards involvement of women in development in the host country.

The highest number of CIDA-funded students are in the fields of Engineering and Technology(22.7%-total; or 10.3%-in the Special .Programs .Branch), Agriculture, Animal Husbandry (12.4%-total, or 13.1%-S.P.B) and Management and Administration (14.5%-total; or 11.9%-S.P.B.) which have traditionally been male-dominated professions. The low enrollment of CIDA-funded students in International Trade (0 enrollment in S.P.B. and 7 in total) is especially insightful in light of policy rhetoric to expand the participation of Third World countries in the international economic arena.

The recommendations made at the 1986 meeting of the Members of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada' to encourage further foreign student enrollment in Canadian post-secondary institutions for "economic and commercial benefits" in a letter sent to the Toronto Globe and Mail (Feb.11,1993) by Professor Bercuson, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research at the University of Calgary suggest that "Canada should start cashing in on the thousands of foreign students who graduate." The 1990 Background Report on Canada, Canadian Programs and Policies Affecting Foreign Students, revealed two major trends which have a significant effect on foreign students' activities in Canadian universities. First, the 1988 changes to Canada Employment and Immigration policies which extended working privileges on campus to foreign students were introduced "on the grounds that they will create additional benefits and opportunities for Canadians (Department of Secretary of State, 1990: 5). Secondly, many Canadian universities show a preference for recruiting graduate rather than undergraduate foreign students. The Background Report indicated that:

> ...graduate students can provide much-needed labour as teaching assistants in undergraduate courses and as research and laboratory assistants in faculty members' research projects....
> Provincial government objectives can be viewed as parallel to this of universities...
> (ibid: 7)

The recommendations not only illustrate the prevalence of economic rationalism driving higher education and development policies but reflects critical lack of understanding of the implications of such practices for Third World development. Jeffrey Holmes, Vice-President of Research and Services for CBIE responded to Bercuson's article (Toronto Globe & Mail, Letters to the Editor, Feb.25, 1993) indicating that it would be more "productive" for both countries if Canada give foreign students the chance to work and socialize with Canadians while studying here then..."she then becomes a contact for Canadian business, government and her new Canadian friends who want to understand and perhaps visit Africa. That's a gain for her, a gain for Sierra Leone and a gain for Canada."

In both discussions however, it is evident that the primary objective of educational linkages with the Third World is economic development. The issue which needs to be critically examined is the actual benefits of education abroad to development in the Third World, as there are a number of variables which neither the corporate or liberal model of internationalization of universities take into account. The consequences of these models are evident in the 'brain-drain from the Third World (Dore, 1976), and the patterns of scholarships awarded to foreign students.

The pattern of enrollment of international students presents interesting similarities and contrasts to Canadian students' post-secondary enrollment, and raises several questions as to the impact of Western development strategies on international educational trends. According to the Department of Secretary of State, in 1990 approximately 2/3 of undergraduate and graduate international students "elect" to study in Ontario or Quebec as compared to 19 per cent studying in British Columbia and Alberta. Between 1975 and 1990, there was a 105 per cent increase in international students studying in Canada, and of the 87,005 international students studying in Canada in 1990, over half came from Asia; in that group, Hong Kong students represented nearly 1/6 of all international students' enrolment.[8] It is most likely that they were attending that particular university for other reasons such as availability of scholarships, grants or, assistantships, and .as one CIDA officer indicated, Canadian universities scholarship programs had not given emphasis on development (CIDA: 2, 1991).

The pattern of their overall enrollment is similar in that over 1/4 of the enrollments are in one of the disciplines of the social sciences, however, they diverge in the number of graduate enrollments in education and engineering/applied sciences and mathematics/physical sciences. While graduate enrolment in education and the social sciences held steady during the 1980s, enrolment in mathematics/physical sciences and agriculture/biological sciences at the doctoral level almost doubled during the 1980s, while enrolment in engineering/applied sciences and health professions more than tripled during the same period. Again,while it could be construed that the increase in international enrolment in the sciences was correlated to the increasingly technocratic pattern of CIDA's strategic development strategies, it is difficult to draw conclusions in relation to development trends from this data, as the survey does not indicate if these fields of study were entered based on the individual's career choice, the developing countries' development priority, or selection based on individual Canadian universities' institutional criteria.(Secretary of State, 1992: 7-9) therefore it is difficult to speculate the degree to which study abroad contributes to institution-building in the host university. However, it is clear that both the federal and provincial governments' educational policies reflect a technocratic perspective motivated more by self-interest than Third World development. The majority of CIDA-funded scholars work and study in the fields of science, engineering and technology, management and administration, natural sciences and the social sciences, thus it is clear that while CIDA argues that it "attaches high priority to studies related to solving development problems within an institutional context" (Ruggles, 1991: 53) its distribution of international scholarships are highly influenced by business and government economic agendas. This inequitable pattern of distribution is also evident in the percentage distribution of International students studying in Canadian universities. According to Department of the Secretary of State Background Report (1990: 9) one-half of foreign students come from Asia. In addition, 30 per cent of the international students were from "industrial market economies," 27 per cent were from NICs, and 16 per cent were from middle income countries. International students from least developed countries represented only 4.4% of the total enrollment studying in Canada (Canadian Commission of Inquiry on Canadian Universities, 1990: 78).

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[8] The term "elected" in this context is unclear because the survey does not indicate whether international students were studying at the institution of their choice, in the field of their choice, or whether they were motivated by the availability of scholarships and grants. This illustrates a limitation of these types of statistical surveys; they fail to reveal the underlying motivation for the subjects' actions. The inherent weakness of many institutional linkage programs and the majority of HRD programs conducted within the university context is the assumption that the international students will make a career commitment to development. The reliance of these development projects on quantitative evaluation processes compounds the problem of validity by merely recording the number of Masters and Phd. students produced offer little insights into the true impact of these projects on development in the Third World. See Dept. of Secretary of State 1990, Canadian Programs and Policies Affecting International Students.

What is also evident in these statistics is the notable absence of international students from the more critically underdeveloped countries. While Chinese and Philippino students hold the second and third highest enrollments respectively, in Canadian institutions, these countries do not represent CIDA's highest ODA priorities.(see Table 4). Although some critics would argue that many underdeveloped countries lack sufficient human resources to pursue higher education, it is apparent the the major motivating factor in the lack of educational support to these countries is a result of the increasing shift of development aid to the NIC's and Eastern Europe and reflects the government's economic agenda in the global community.

A major weakness of ICDS policies which support partnerships with the public and private sector to foster HRD is the assumption that social and economic benefits which Third World students accrue through studies in Canada will "trickle-down" to meet the needs of the masses. In reality, many Third World universities are still based on colonial models of education which perpetuate heirarchical social and economic social relations, therefore facilitating networks among existing models of higher education runs the risk of perpetuating these inequalities.

CIDA and ICDS policies are also based on the assumption that Third World universities can and should play leadership roles in social and economic development. In this context, Western universities' development strategies are often contradictory because on one hand, they encourage Third World universities to become more political yet they fiercely defend their own practices of intellectual freedom and autonomy. In many cases, " ... government programs and foundation aid, in fact, almost bribe some foreign universities to undertake major programs concerned with sensitive domestic, social and political issues..." while Western universities assert that their educational role is apolitical. (Wofford, 1968: 15). The 1980 report, CIDA's Response to University Initiatives in International Development: Criteria For Support, revealed the other concerns with regard to Canadian and Third World universities' international development partnerships raised by several development experts and educators. While Canadian academic expertise is acknowledged and respected nationally and internationally, those surveyed felt that the limited number of participants involved in the ICDS programs who had development training or firsthand experience in developing countries was a critical weakness in Canadian universities' HRD capacity. Since development activities and projects implemented through ICDS linkages tend to be initiated at the individual or department level, the Report indicated the transfer of knowledge tends to be uni-directional and highly restrictive, thereby limiting the impact for human development in both Canadian and LDC universities. The underdevelopment of resources is also evident in the patterns of formal and informal interactions in the universities.

Despite the significant number of international students in attendance at Canadian universities, (15,000 full-time undergraduates in 1989 and over 12,000 graduate students, accounting for 29 per cent of full-time doctoral enrolment; AUCC,1991: 2-3), only minimal effort has been made to involve them directly or indirectly in the institution's ICDS programs. This pattern was substantiated in the informal dialogues with 6 University of Alberta and University of British Columbia students surveyed between 1992 and 1992. They concurred indicating that they felt their potential as development catalysts and liaisons among Canadian and LDC institutions had not been adequately explored by the university Faculty.

Since CIDA does not cover administrative costs for ICDS projects, Canadian universities, already burdened by educational cutbacks, are faced with the additional task of soliciting financial support from the private business sector. To date, the private sector has offered little support for ICDS projects. (EIP, 1988: 41; 1992: 41) The implications of this fiscal dilemma are the potential for increased competition among universities to secure funding, or the possibility that universities may abandon this type of linkage altogether.

The universities' lack of reflection in relation to their development practices is deeply rooted in a forty year history of consultancy roles, and political passivity which has been perpetuated by the bureaucratic structure of CIDA and the dominant influence of EAITC. The existing social structure keeps universities isolated from the processes of development policy-making, project selection and evaluation. Table 5 summarizes the preceding discussion and analysis of CIDA and ICDS policies which clearly reflect a strong bias for corporate and liberal-democratic models of university internationalization. This is evidenced in the strong bias towards market-oriented and technocratic development strategies. By over-emphasizing adaptations in organizational structures and management processes, "institution-building" and "HRD" strategies at the university level, have overlooked the need for a radical change in these structures in order to address the real sources of social and economic inequalities in the Third World

Do institutional linkages have the potential to generate "organic intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1971) who are willing to initiate social change for the "common good" of society? An AUCC Report prepared for the Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade (1986: 4, 17) stated that while Canadian universities were proud of their history of contribution to Canadian development cooperation, they felt their capacities were not being used to potential. An appeal was made to the Standing Committee to indicate interest in becoming more closely involved in the Canadian aid effort because they perceived that Canadian universities had the potential to change. The critical weakness in this and other assumptions made by universities and CIDA and ICDS is that societies dominated by powerful capitalist values and economics, educational institutions have the ability to build a strong social ethic if they have not yet "transformed themselves both to reflect and to create a new consciousness and new social relations." (Carnoy and Levin, 1990: 71) Such transformation cannot occur in the absence of critical self-reflection.

Reflexive practices and a lack of institutionalized development policies have left universities even more vulnerable to cooptation by external economic and political forces which not only are trying to capitalize on their human resources but are also having a dramatic impact on the traditional academic roles of teaching, research and community service. The danger is enhanced by certain internationalization trends among OECD nations which use development rhetoric to justify technocratic agendas.

4.3 The Implications of Change for Canadian Universities

Trying to operate External Affairs and CIDA in tandem has been compared to "driving an ill-matched team of horse." (Nossal, 1985: 107) Canadian universities who are often involved in international development for diverse and often conflicting reasons,.find the task of coordinating their efforts with EAITC and CIDA even more formidable because they have no control of the policy reins. Their altruistic motivations in development are also tempered by harsh fiscal realities and the constant threat of "publish or perish." The heightened drive for scientific and technological innovation has placed increased pressure on universities to mobilize their human and physical resources for international economic competitiveness. In their search to re-define their role in social change, they have been inundated with models of internationalization which have been promoted as the only viable strategy to keep pace with modernization. The increased commodification of knowledge by the North and its brokerage through development linkages has merely perpetuated intellectual imperialism and dependency relationships with Third World institutions.

Dr. Roseneau, (AUCC, 1992: 7) of the University of Southern California, referred to the university's internationalization process as the globalization of the mind, in society, the economy and the polity. However, the assumption that global uniformity facilitates mutual understanding not only overlooks the necessity of self-understanding as an antecedent to mutual understanding, it also ignores the inherent dangers of creating a "homogeneous" global population which could be easily exploited economically, politically and commercially.

In spite of the absence of critical dialogue and institutionalized policies, a number of universities have implemented a wide variety of development and internationalization strategies. The Fall 1991 AUCC survey identified following strategies which Canadian universities had implemented to "internationalize" their campuses.

This list of educational reforms had already been implemented in the 89 institutions surveyed:

- 63% had mission statements which encompassed an international role
- 74% were attempting to facilitate the infusion of a global perspective into the undergraduate curriculum

- 69% were using international students or faculty with international experience contribute an international perspective to the curriculum
- 25% identified a correlation between faculty exchanges and the inclusion of an international dimension in the undergraduate experience
- 46% provide opportunities for Canadian students with international experience to contribute a global perspective to the curriculum
- 63% offered business studies programs which provided training for work overseas
- 55% solicit international graduate and undergraduate students for enrolment on campus
- 77% indicated they were actively involved in human resource development in the Third World
- 59% indicated that internationalization had facilitated and, in some cases, resulted in increased interdisciplinary collaboration within their institutions
(AUCC, 1991)

While the survey gives the impression of a cooperative model of internationalization on Canadian campuses, in reality the diversity and contradictory nature of these strategies illustrate the lack of consensus at an institutional level, on definitions of "development," "internationalization." Other contradictions surround the use of such terms as a "global perspective" and an "international dimension to curriculum." It cannot be assumed that because the university has a development mission statement that international development has become an integral component of all Faculties and Departments. The 1988 and 1992 ICDS Evaluation Reports reinforce this fact indicating that the term "institutional linkages" was a misnomer because the linkages tended to limited to an individual or departmental relationship.

The inherent contradictions between internationalization and development practices was particularly evident at the CBIE Conference in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan October, 15, 1992 at which members grappled with the theme "Visions Toward an International Campus." As a group facilitator at the "Visioning" workshop, conducted by U of A International Centre, it was evident that despite the level of enthusiasm and interest for internationalizing university campuses, the majority of 26 workshop participants were working in an educational environment which lacked an institutional policy for internationalization. In a survey conducted at the end of the workshop, all respondants indicated that the area of least progress was in a coordinated university approach to internationalization, and in the commitment of faculty and staff to an international perspective in teaching and research. (Caldwell, 1993: 2). Although each workshop participant was given a copy of an AUCC article outlining Warner's three models of internationalization, in subsequent group and informal discussions, the majority of participants surveyed by the researcher had great difficulty in articulating a definition of internationalization and the majority of their responses indicated a course of action for internationalization or development rather than a philosophical or ideological foundation.

Opportunities for experiencing a "global perspective" also varies within institutions, individual departments and even in classes because of individual interpretations of the concept. Often Faculty and university administration assume that the presence of international students in Canadian classrooms adds an international or global dimension to the curriculum. In reality, the development of that perspective is largely dependent on the instructor's teaching style, his or her understanding of development and the perceived correlation between the subject and global issues. Conscientization is highly dependent on the quality of interaction between individuals and their environments. Unlike the consensual element indicative of the liberal-democratic model, new insights most often occur at points of disjunction in which a person is challenged to restructure a network of belonging and reformulate ideas and attitudes (Schroeder, 1984; Brueggemann, 1987; Parks, 1986). However, in the context of the current university environment which places a high priority on competition and academic excellence, it is difficult for this kind of transformative process to occur.

The limited opportunity for critical dialogue in classrooms is unfortunate because the international student population represents a wealth of first-hand experience and cultural knowledge of life in the Third World which remains largely untapped. Consequently, since such students may, through socialization and education, be critically aware of development realities in their countries, dialogue opportunities can also facilitate their understanding of development paradigms. Except in those universities whose International Student Centers take the initiative to facilitate social interaction among Canadian and international students and to stimulate critical dialogue about the universities' development roles and responsibilities, development education is often restricted to a handful of academic courses which focus on the theoretical rather than the practical aspects of development. It is often at this level, in informal educational settings, that communicative action occurs in Canadian higher education; unfortunately it also remains an area which operates with limited institutional support. As the AUCC survey (1991) illustrates, in the absence of critical discourse, the outcome of Internationalization and development practices is the fragmentary and inconsistent delivery of education and development services. For some project coordinators and program recipients, this has have increased the confusion and scepticism about the relevance of certain development policies and practices (Tables 7 and 9).

The search for global economic development through science and technology has pulled universities throughout the world more deeply in the process of social change by drawing on their research and development capacities. University research comprises a large percentage of Canada's research and development activities, however, although the federal government is still the major contributor to Canadian post-secondary education, the 1991 government budget maintained its stance on freezing rate increases below the economic growth to the Established Programs Financing (EPF), a transfer program which tied federal support for post-secondary education to growth in the economy. The result, in 1989, was a 9 per cent increase of business sector funding of research and development, a increase considered high by international standards, as universities sought out alternative sources of funding.

The OECD sees the trend for corporate-university partnerships as a positive step in which education plays three essential roles in achieving income security and fuller participation in society. The OECD argues that through its contribution to the development of a flexible labor force, development of innovative management and research and development of "new blood" for entrepreneurship: "universities can facilitate economic growth (OECD, 1992: 67). Across the board, there is consensus that education, training and re-training have an essential role to play in revitalizing the OECD economies and mastered economic, technological and social change" (ibid: 67). What is not clear in these statements is from whom this consensus was drawn.

This model of internationalization allows the market to act as a buffer mechanism to facilitate more effective and productive use of university services through intense competition for enrollment. However, the inherent contradiction policies which favor higher education's long-term accreditation process and business' demand for short-term training programs may have a significant impact on university researchers. There are those faculty members who may be inclined to pursue applied research which offers commercial pay-offs instead of pursuing pure research especially in the fields of the social sciences and the Humanities. These development strategies also have long-term consequences for teaching and curriculum development in both Canadian and Third World universities.

The brochure, "Winning in the World Economy: Canadian Universities and Economic Renewal", produced by the Science Council of Canada (SCC) portrays the magnitude of the contradictions in corporate-business partnerships. The expectation is that universities should integrate their teaching and research agendas with the nation's marketplace in order to counteract the the government's decline in financial commitments to higher education. A 1991 Research and Policy Analysis (AUCC, 1991:1-7) conducted by AUCC stated that although economic projections for the year 2000 reveal over 2/3 of all jobs will require more than twelve years of education and 40% will require more than 16 years, federal government expenditures have not kept pace with this dramatic increase in demand for post-secondary education.

The section entitled,"The University's Role in Creating Wealth" is most likely an omen of things to come:

> Teaching and research are major roles of the university, and must remain so. But as knowledge replaces raw materials as the primer of the world economy, the university's part in creating wealth-too often under-rated-becomes crucially important. The intellectual resources of the university are needed to help revitalize mature industries and generate product ideas needed to create new ones. Canada's future prosperity increasingly depends on designing effective ways to integrate the university and the marketplace.
> (SCC, 1987)

It seems virtually impossible for institutional linkages with the Third World to subsist let alone sustain themselves in an increasingly aggressive economic environment where the business sector pursues corporate raids on Canadian universities' research, and the government demands greater accountability to the international marketplace, in institutional R&D policies and practices

The relationship between Canadian universities, educational organizations and the business sector is still a tenuous one. The private sector has often complained bitterly to CIDA that it gives unfair competitive advantage to the educational institutions and organizations such as CBIE and WUSC (which went into receivership in 1990) which receive financial support from CIDA and are some of the Agency's largest development contractors (Simpson, 1989:39). It is clear that in the current economic and political climate, universities are going to run into increasing competition with the corporate sector because the exponential growth of information and technology has also forced them assume the roles of teaching and research (Boulding, 1968; ECC, 1992; Simpson, 1989; OECD, 1989). Both organizations are entering a period of greater interdependence in which cooperation is essential.

Halsey (1960:463), Galbraith (1986), and Carnoy and Samoff (1990) argue that universities have become part of the educational foundation. By acting as agencies for the selection, training, and occupational placement of individuals, they play a central role through their research functions in perpetuating the system of stratification. Ivan Head, speaking at an international conference on University Action for Sustainable Development sees some elements of these partnerships as a critical threat to human and environmental development. Head argues that:

> Corporations and governments are, after all, action-oriented organizations. They have little time to reflect, inadequate resources to postulate alternatives, no mandate to generate fresh knowledge. They are quite unlike universities in which all these functions are expected. Yet is the track record of universities-when measured against their mission-in startling contrast to that of governments and corporations?... In every field and discipline-engineering, biological and natural sciences, economics, demography, health,management, social sciences, geography, ethics and philosophy-there is still a disturbing shortage of environmentally related activities, a truly threatening shortage of researchers and teachers (mostly the latter) qualified to pursue those activities, and an appalling institutional indifference to public policy. This is compounded, tragically, by the still all-too-common reluctance of university scholars to function in inter- or multi-disciplinary fashion. In all to many instances, universities (and particularly university administrations) are found in the bleachers, spectators to the revelations of the Brandt or the Brundtland Commissions. This is tragic, for in no other kind of institution does there rest such a rich mixture of ingredients useful for the restoration of wholesomeness to the environment and of decency to human activities. (Head, 1992: 11)

His comments are particularly significant in the context of university research. While higher education in Canada has maintained its basic function of preserving knowledge, the function to transmit knowledge and to create new knowledge has taken on a broader definition and more contradictory role in the context of the current dynamic social, economic and political global climate. Because research and development has become an integral part of higher education, universities have become a major source of social change. Consequently, the role of universities in determining the nature and direction of research can increasingly be undermined. In turn this tendency ca affect the teaching dimension of post-secondary institutions. It is clear that universities are not playing a leadership role in determining the nature and direction of teaching and research.

The blurring of boundaries between higher education and the marketplace is also changing the universities' role of community service. One of the major criticisms by the government and business sector of the Canadian educational system is the lack of coherence between education and the labour market. These policies have serious implication for future trends in funding R&D and international student enrollment patterns in Canadian universities. The pressure for universities to pursue corporate linkages in R&D has also had a significant impact on the re-definition of the university's mandate for community service as there have been dramatic increases in the number of international students from NICs and the Pacific Rim studying in Canada and institutional linkages are proliferating with more profitable partners. While Third World student enrollment in Canadian colleges is on the rise, it does not match the levels of university enrolment which seems to illustrate the Third World's support of meritocratic educational practices despite their limited relevance to the development context.

Critics of the corporate or service model of universities argue that formal education operates in contradictory way linking political and economic interests which are closely tied to capitalist labour markets with liberal education policies. The consequence of such systems of education is the legitimization of particular world views which correspond to dominant patterns of beliefs and action at the expense of subordinating other views which reveals the weakness of using educational systems to solve labour market needs (Apple, 1982; Wotherspoon, 1987; Carnoy and Levin, 1985). Therefore, with the mounting pressures on Canadian universities to align their academic mandates with the marketplace, it is not surprising that Third World institutions are supporting this trend. Most educators and politicians agree that universities have an obligation to community service. However, they have difficulty gaining consensus "who" that community is, what constitutes "community service," and whether direct social action is within the academic mandate of higher education. While some educators argue that universities should only become directly involved in political issues when the university's ability to achieve its operational functions are hindered or when faculty and students liberty is in jeopardy while others argue that universities are already politicized because they are, by nature of their academic function, social change agents.

Since universities are largely dependent on federal and provincial funding to operate there is the fear among the academic community that government has the potential to exert monopolistic influence over academic policies (Lewington,1993). This fear has increased in the face of declining funding of higher education and increasing pressures to form corporate alliances with business. While Canadian universities have organizations such as the AUCC and CBIE to act as buffer organizations[9] between universities and the State to stave off monopolization of teaching and research activities, these institutions are also finding themselves victims of corporate raids on their human and physical resources.

The increasing penetration of government economic rationality into the development mission of the CBIE is evident in its extensive use of bureaucratic rhetoric. The policy document Introducing the Canadian Bureau for International Education states that "Canadians must ask themselves what will keep them secure politically, safe environmentally and competitive economically in the interdependent world of the future"

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[9] Buffer organizations "seem to be the mediating mechanism to achieve a matching of values, goals and expectations within and around higher education...[as] for each side it seems necessary that its values , goals and expectations are "protected" and "respected" by the other side...thus protecting and promoting might be identified as the underlying principles of buffer organizations in higher education (Frackmann,1992: 16).

(CBIE, 1991: 1). This clearly reflects a corporate rationality for expanding the universities' community services and research roles.

In July, 1992,.CBIE organized a Corporate Affiliates Program which brought together a group of corporate executives, international educators and government officials to "...discuss the challenges facing Canada as it seeks to compete in an increasingly globalized and knowledge-based business environment" Jim Fox, CBIE President, consulted with the business community to "find out what kind of services they could use to increase their competitiveness" and proposed a program to use its resources in international education to facilitate Canadian corporations to open "new trade doors abroad."

The following resources were identified by Mr. Fox :

a) CBIE membership of over 125 Canadian universities and colleges provided access to the international student population, including alumni who have moved into positions of influence in their own countries. Therefore the program plans to develop an alumni database to keep track of foreigners graduating from Canada's universities and colleges
b) increased and targeted investment in training Canada's own human resources to reflect the skills and attributes necessary in today's business world
c) strategic partnership between business and international education to promote new trade and promotional opportunities through the establishment of a lobbying network to influence government decisions regarding international trade and international education (CBIE, 1992: 9-10)

In attendance at the conference were the Honourable Michael Wilson, Minister of Industrial Science and Technology and International Trade, George Pedersen, President of the University of Western Ontario, Mary Hofstetter, President of Sheridan College and Chair of the Board of CBIE and Gary Donahee, senior vice-president of Human Resources for Northern Telecom all of whom lent support to these recommendations. It was also recommended that although the program specifically targets international education at the post-secondary level, it should be extended to encompass primary and secondary levels.[10] The strategies outlined in the CBIE's Corporate Affiliate Program are dangerously exploitative of international students because they have the potential to either magnify the "brain-drain" from developing countries or foster the growth of an entrepreneurial local elite which will have a powerful influence on the economic and political climate. The

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[10] See Alberta Education, 1991 Visions for the 90s strategic educational plan for Alberta education put forth by Education Minister J. Dinning,which promotes the internationalization of public school education and CIDA's national Global Education program implementation.

CBIE, in particular appears to be operating in direct contradiction to its status as a charitable organization and to its development mandate "to promote the welfare of international students by lobbying governments to amend harmful or inefficient policies and practices..." (CBIE, 1991: 2).

AUCC (1992) which describes itself as "the voice of Canada's higher education community, is often the first point of contact for authorities outside of Canada who are seeking information about Canada's university system. It offers information on Canadian degree and diploma programs, Canadian university resources for international development and for scientific, technical and scholarly exchange." However, due to the current restructuring of CIDA, AUCC has inherit the responsibility for coordinating the EIP Programs which select, monitor and evaluate ICDS linkages. (Headlam, 1992)

AUCC is funded by CIDA under the Assistance Disbursements to non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and works closely with CIDA, IDRC, the Secretary of State, External Affairs and International Trade (EAITC). This might imply that the agency's autonomy is limited by government and business control. This new function of brokering universities development expertise is contradictory to its role as a buffer between universities and the government and makes it increasingly difficult for institutions to use it as a mechanism voice their academic and development concerns.

Chairman George Pederson, indicated in the October AUCC Summary Annual Report (1991: 1), that while AUCC had made progress in effective political lobbying... [such action] was seen by many as inappropriate or unseemly behaviour on the part of universities. However, he also indicated that AUCC has considerably enhanced our own influence in bringing higher education concerns into the halls of government at both the national and international levels, as well as within the private and corporate sectors. The increasing intervention of government and business into AUCC and CBIE policies leaves Canadian universities' roles with few avenues open to challenge the current economic and political tides.

4.4 Conclusion

While the goal of bringing education into the 21st century is a laudable one, the implementation of policies and practices in the absence of critical examination of internationalization's underlying ideologies and its long term consequences for both developed and underdeveloped countries is short-sighted and dangerous. It is evident from this discussion and analysis that the impetus for internationalization has been largely economic and political in nature, and the motivation for expanding universities' development role is becoming more so. How should the university respond to these challenges?

There are two diametrically opposed viewpoints. The conservative element define the university's role as non-partisan; they feel activities should restricted to doing what it does best, therefore it argues that the university's activities should be confined to traditional academic pursuits. The liberals, on the other hand, argue that universities have a social responsibility to shape society, therefore it must be "engaged, activist and reformist" in its role; the weakness of this approach is the dominance instrumentalist actions which favor Western development. In either case, many critics of higher education argue that Western universities are abdicating their responsibility for intellectual leadership and thus risking capture by external forces which have their own agenda for change. Neither of these perspectives however, encompass elements of socially tranformative paradigm which facilitate emancipatory action for all participants, and this is the weakness of international perspective. They fail to address global structural inequalities. Altbach (1989: 4) agrees with this perception, stating that the challenge of maintaining traditional autonomy in the light of current development trends is witnessed in the continued struggle between government, the business sector and universities to control curriculum, student enrollment and graduation, academic freedom and administrative governance.

The degree to which external forces are competing to capture its human and physical resources is a clear indication of the potential political power of universities to influence the nature and direction of global development. Johnson best capsulized the dilemma: the university has the intellectual power, the public, through the government has the legal power," how can the latter be moved by the former?"

The role which Canadian universities play in international development through institutional linkages is a significant indicator of their development ideology and reflects both individual and institutional values about the link between education and social change. The influence of CIDA's changing aid polices on Canadian universities' development roles is examined in Chapters Five and Six through case studies of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 An Introduction to the Case Studies

The previous chapter presented a critical analysis of CIDA and ICDS policies and practices to illustrate how Canadian universities' development roles are being affected by internal and external economic and political forces. It is clear that Canada's membership in agencies such as the World Bank, IMF the United Nations, and the OCED. have strongly influenced the structure and delivery of Canada's official development assistance to the Third World (Pratt, 1992; Swift & Thomlinson, 1991; CCIC, 1993), yet, the macro-perspective of Canadian ODA offers only limited insights into the development practices of Canadian universities. Therefore the next two chapters of this study are devoted to a micro-analysis of two western Canadian universities which have played a significant role in international development over the past forty years.

The discussion is guided by two major considerations: the theoretical analysis demonstrates how the historical legacies of the previous development decades have "conditioned" Canadian universities' development practices.[1] This is evidenced in the foreign trade and education policies of the two provincial Ministries of Education therefore content analysis of their policies in relation to the universities' international development mission statement is explored in depth. A mission statement may be defined as "an enduring statement of purpose that distinguishes one organization from other similar enterprises and determines the organization's *raison d'etre.*"

These statements are of particular significance in the context of this analysis because it is the mission statement which provides a ideological framework for delineating roles and responsibilities to the internal and external community. It serves as a planning instrument for formulating institutional goals and objectives while at the same time acting as a strategic action plan and evaluation tool (Kiggundu, 1989: 67). Theoretically, the provincial Ministries of Education have a "buffer" or mediative role to play between the provincial and federal governments and educational institutions and this role takes on greater significance in of the absence institutionalized policies of development or a national policy on education. However, since their other major function is financial allocation, these offices wield tremendous economic and political power over the two universities. And, in the light of the current economic crisis, they too have the expectation that universities will play a larger role in provincial economic growth through their sponsorship of innovative R & D initiatives in scinece and technology.

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[1] The term "conditioned" is used instead of "dependent" to connote a structural analysis of social relations between Canadian universities and external economic, political and educational agencies which exert influence on policies and practices in higher educational institutions. In that way, it is easier to account for dynamic processes which are generated within these institutions. The use of the term "conditioned" was supported by Carnoy and Levin(1990) in their study of transition societies ; it is relevant in this context because it illustrates the imbalance of economic and political power between the federal government, (which can be conceived as the "center") and Western Canadian universities (which can be conceived as the "periphery")

The second level of analysis focuses on the process by which each university transforms CIDA and ICDS development policies into educational practice through institutional linkage programs. Using the corporate, liberal and social transformation models of internationalization as a theoretical framework for the analysis, it becomes possible to trace the character and direction of the university's role in international development. The interview process illuminated this further by documenting the perceptions of the project coordinators and international liaison officers on each campus thus revealing new insights into the influence of CIDA's changing policies and involvement in ICDS projects on the university's traditional mandates of teaching, research and community service. Their perceptions of the degree to which development objectives had been integrated into their university's academic functions was used as an indicator of the level of institutional commitment to a particular model of internationalization. This element of the analysis was the most difficult to assess on the basis of interviews as it relied entirely on each subject's assessment of their own academic and development practices, however, it revealed, in a limited way, the potential for change in the faculties' willingness to pursue critical dialogue about education and development. Ideally it would be even more insightful to observe the teaching, research and community service practices in operation in both Canadian and Third World institutions before, during and after participation in ICDS projects in order to clearly delineate the impact of these experiences on the academic and development mandates of each institution. However, a longitudinal.study was beyond the scope of this research, at this time.

The case studies provided in Chapters Five and Six do provide a number of significant insights into Canadian educational and development practices. Although higher education institutions are often resilient to change, they are by no means static. The dynamic nature of national and global social, economic and cultural climate has been a catalyst for accelerating the process of change in the universities' academic and development roles. Therefore, it is not surprising to discover the inherent conflicts within their current educational policies and practices. They have clearly outgrown a number of traditional educational practices and these ideological conflicts have become heightened in the context of development practices. Now more than ever, there is a greater the sense of urgency to stimulate critical dialogue.

5.1 Economic and Political Sources of Change in Alberta

The province of Alberta occupies 661,190 square kilometers in the western region of Canada, and is bordered by the Rocky Mountains in the southwest, the prairies in the east and a 349,00 square kilometer forested plateau in the northern region. The principal industries are oil and mineral production, which generated $8 billion in 1986, agricultural production, inparticular beef ranching which achieved a revenue of $4.1 billion in 1988, and a large manufacturing and construction industry. In 1986, the employment distribution was divided between services, which accounted for33 per cent of the population, trade at 19 per cent and manufacturing, agriculture and commerce and utilities which each accounted for approximately 8 per cent of the province's employment (Columbo, 1993: 32)

Unlike other Canadian provinces, Alberta, has the third lowest debt per GPD, earning $63.3 billion, and giving the province one of the highest per capita GDP in Canada. The expansion of Alberta's role in international trade can be witnessed in initiatives by the provincial government and the private sector to stimulate provincial economic development through diversification of the industrial base (Government of Alberta, 1992). The Premier's Conference on Alberta's Future: Towards 2000 Together together with the aggressive development policies of the Western Economic Diversification Canada department have laid out a strong market-oriented approach to facilitate the province's shift to a knowledge-based economy. Both groups identified higher education was.perceived as a strategic tool to facilitate this process through its research and development capacities (Government of Alberta,1992).

Value-added activities such as agricultural processing and oil sands development associated with base primary activities, are increasing. While the mechanization of agriculture has led to a decline in agricultural enrollments at the college level, (Alberta Advanced Education, 1989: 12), development of new industries related to forestry/pulp and paper and advanced technology companies have created a growing demand for university services in the areas of applied research and development and the training of business entrepreneurs.(ibid: 12). After the Green Revolution, Biotechnology has become the development reolvution of the 1990s, and there is no other field of science where transnational corporations have penetrated Western universities in such a large way

(Hobbelink, 1991; Persley, 1989).[2] The study on university/induatry parnterships in biotechnology, conducted by Martin Kenney, professor at Ohio State University, revealed that:

> ... not only [is] knowledge being sold was paid for by the public but, even more important, that the university in particular...is being subsumed by industry... (1986: 246)

The demise of the Agricultural Engineering Department at the University of Alberta can be taken as a sign that conventional forms of agriculture are changing (University of Alberta, 1994: 24) because the increasing links between global agriculture and industry are re-defining knowledge and practice in this discipline. The implications of these trends for Western univerisites is that much of the re-structuring of agricultural departments is guided by the development objectives of biotechnology set by the Consultative Group in International Agricultural Research (GIAR) which is funded by the World Bank, USAID, the Rockefeller and other Foundations, and governments (George, 1990). Since much of the R & D in this field is related to the Third World's agricultural commodity exports (such as sugar, cocoa), this movement has ominous implications for the food security (George, 1990; Hobbelink, 1991).

These trends are significant to the discussion becasuse the Prairie provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba contain 80 per cent of Canada's farmland, producing almost all of Canada's wheat, 90 per cent of its barley and rye and more than 70 per cent of its oats, therefore these provinces play a major role in international trade. Canada is the world's sixth largest producer of wheat, surpassed only by China, the Soviet Union, the United States and France. (Columbo,1993: 640;819) Therefore it is likely that there will be more aggressive attempts to develop links between the university and industry to promote international trade in this field. In light of CIDA's shifting development priorities and the global technological revolution occurring the agricultural industry, the April 1993 summit held in Vancouver, British Columbia with U.S. President Clinton, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney take on new meaning.

In order to market the university's HRD in this competitive international marketplace, it is necessary to have a strong human resource base in order to promot cross-national links. Alberta has such a base because of its well-educated, ethnically diverse and youthful population. In January, 1991, the population of the province of Alberta was recorded at 2,545,553. In 1991, 79.8 per cent of the total population lived in an urban setting and 839,924 people lived in the city of Edmonton.

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[2] In most contracts, the transnational corporation has the right to examine the results and can delay their publication until patent possibilities are investigated. Since they provide the majority of funding for R & D, they often set the rearch agenda. Monsanto "donated" $23.5 million to Washington University for biotechnology research while Lubrizol has more than $ 20 million tied up in R & D contracts with 18 universities and other public institutions.

The province, and in particular, the city of Edmonton, is composed of diverse ethnic and racial groups mainly from Eastern Europe and Asia and Alberta has consistently ranked fourth (behind British Columbia) as the province of intended destination of immigrants (Employment and Immigration Canada,1986-1990) thus providing a climate for potentially diverse, cross-cultural, social interaction. This diverse cultural mixture is also representative of the social environment at the University of Alberta. Since 71,210 people, or 8.5 per cent of the city's population at that time was under the age of thirty-five, it is evident that a long-term commitment to HRD will be required. While this factor has placed a greater financial burden on the provincial education system, it must also be recognized that the University of Alberta has been the city's seconda largest employer, paying $268 million in salaries and pouring more than $600 million per year into the province's economy (WCER,1990), therefore the social rate of return to ehigher education has been good. Post-secondary enrollment in Alberta in 1989-90 was 71,950 or 2.8 per cent of the provincial population (ibid: 32-34). In comparison to other jurisdictions in North America, Alberta's participation in university education is relatively high, with approximately 45,000 full time students and 8,800 part-time students enrolled in degree-granting programs during 1988-89.(Alberta Advanced Education,1990: 1). Full-time enrollment increased at universities by 46 per cent between 1988-89 while full-time enrolment increased in public colleges by 100 per cent during the same period. The dilemma is that the increasing demand for higher education is also occurring at a time of fiscal restraint, and this has resulted in the placement of quotas and enrollment limits in certain faculties in a number of institutions.(ibid: 7). The implications of this trend are that enrollment restrictions challenge equality of educational opportunity, and the rationale of economic efficacy will be used as a strategic tool to expand certain departments while phasing out others. (University of Alberta,1990, 1991, 1993 1994). The University's 'vision' set out in the Strategic Plan report entitled, "Degrees of Freedom", indicate that the institution "aspires to be a leading Canadian university and a major international university in a select number of teaching and research areas". (University of Alberta, 19941). In the context of international development, these debates have seriously challenged foreign student enrollment and international linkage projects in the Third World because of the re-introduction of costly differential fees (Allen, 1992; University of Alberta, 1993, 1994).

However, given the current economic crisis and the resulting decline in educational expenditures, the universities find themselves caught in highly political debates over national and international education priorities. These discussions will a significant influence on the policies and practices of the University in relation to institutional linkages, foreign student enrolment and the internationalization of higher education academic mandates.

5.2 The Direction of Change: The University of Alberta's Mission: "Quaecumque Vera "Whatsoever things are true"

The brochure, The Mission of the University of Alberta (1992) states that "the statement which follows enunciates the common beliefs and vision of the members of the University of Alberta about the nature of our collegial community and its collective mission". It states that:

> **We believe that the goal of the University of Alberta is to be an outstanding university; to serve our students, our Province, our country, and the international community by excelling at teaching, research across the spectrum of selected areas**... We seek to expand the horizons of learning through the discovery, creation, evaluation, transmission, and preservation of knowledge.
>
> **At the heart of our mission is a belief in the important interactions between university teaching and research, between undergraduate and graduate studies, and between internationally recognized academic excellence and service to the community**.... The mission of the University is furthermore to serve the local community, the Province, and the country through such activities as promoting culture, stimulating technology transfer, playing a leadership role in healthcare and primary and secondary education, and strengthening the economy through basic and applied research and the provision of highly trained personnel.
>
> **Essential to our mission is making choices which will enhance the health and strength of our University. As a collegial community we are accountable for the use of public and private funds to provide the most rigourous institution possible within the bounds of the resources available to us. We believe that such choices are best made on these grounds: academic excellence, academic centrality, quality of participants, and prospect of service to the greater community**... There are many disciplines for which the University of Alberta plays a central role in meeting the employment and professional needs of the Province, and others in which the University's research or clinical work is essential to achieving important local, provincial, national or international objectives.
>
> **Responsibility to the members of our own collegial community-students, staff and faculty-is a vital part of our mission**... An essential part of our mission is the provision of an academic environment in which all of our students and faculty are encouraged and supported in the advancement of learning, and in which intolerance, sexism, and bigotry have no place.

> **To these goals we dedicate our efforts as a university community.**
> (University of Alberta, 1992)

The language of this document clearly illustrates the direct influence of the provincial government's economic policies on higher education in Alberta. The University is guided by a "mission" to become "an outstanding university" which is "internationally recognized" for its "academic excellence" and this is achieved by re-structuring the delivery of education through a market-oriented approach which "mak[es] choices... in selected areas." The choices which the government and the University have been made are illustrated later in this chapter. The community, the context of this mission statement, is defined by its regional, academic and business qualities; service to "the local community" is described in terms of research and the development of human capital and institution-building to "achiev[e] local, provincial, national or international objectives," while the "university community" and the "collegial community" is supported through more liberal-democratic policies of human rights and academic freedom "within the bounds of resources available to us" and increased fiscal accountability. The prevalence of this market-oriented approach to the internationalization at the University of Alberta has been largely guided by the International Education Department in Alberta Advanced Education, which was officially established in June of 1972. The mission statement of Alberta Advanced Education (approved by Cabinet in 1973), is "to provide the leadership, service and coordination necessary to ensure the efficient development and functioning of an effective system of advanced education responsive to the needs of all Albertans." (AAE, 1989-90 Annual Report: 11). The strategic effort of the government to use a market university HRD is evidenced in the policy document of the International Education Department which states that:

> International education makes an effective contribution to to the achievement of Alberta's economic growth and diversification goals... Support from Alberta's post-secondary sector contributes to the competitiveness of Alberta private sector bids for international projects.... Educational linkages contribute to international goodwill and understanding and improved international relations.
>
> Alberta Advanced Education encourages the public post-secondary institutions to engage in international education and training activities to complement the government's goals to establish academic and cultural linkages with other nations as well as to support international trade, development and investment opportunities.(Government of Alberta,1992: 1)

These statements reflect two major theoretical conflicts inherent in corporate and liberal-democratic models of internationalization, namely the conflict between academic excellence and equality of educational opportunity and the desire to foster economic growth through fiscal restraint. However, the direction in which the pendulum swings between these goals is highly reflective of the current economic climate. And it is evident that, in the light of the current global economic crisis, market forces will continue to play a major role in educational policy formation. Internationalization rhetoric merely cloaks human capital and modernization paradigms in what bureaucrats perceived to be more palatable terms in order to justify the exponential growth in educational scholarships and subsidies to science and technological research and development and partnerships in the Pacific Rim to foster global competitiveness (Secretary of State, 1992; AUCC, 1991; Alberta Advanced Education, 1989, 1989, 1990).[3]

Two Operations Branches which have been particularly influential in shaping the province's role in international development are the Operating and Endowment Support Branch which was implemented in February,1989 to encourage the private sector's financial support of Alberta's public postsecondary institutions by contributing to matching grants of the Endowment and Incentive Fund and Special Purpose Grants Fund. This leadership is comprised of the following strategies:

> Alberta Advanced Education recognizes that the success of the International Education Program is dependent on cooperation among institutions and government departments. Alberta Advanced Education will facilitate this cooperation by working closely with existing bodies such as the Universities Coordinating Council (UCC) Committee on International Development and the Alberta Colleges and Technical Institutes International Committee (ACTIIC), and by communicating regularly with other provincial departments particularly, Alberta's Agents Generals posted abroad.
>
> This policy applies to post-secondary international education activities including the administration of Minister of Advanced Education and Government of Alberta international scholarships.
>
> Alberta Advanced Education may provide assistance to post-secondary institutions to market their educational services to foreign interests and to Canadian and international funding agencies, (such as CIDA, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank etc....). To be eligible for support, marketing initiatives must contribute to or have a potential to contribute to provincial international trade and investment objectives and to

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[3] It is interesting to note that Paul Gerin-Lajoie, former President of CIDA, was the author of the document which recommended giving the provinces the power to manage their own external affairs. (Granastein and Bothwell, 1990: 156). This added another dimension to the already complicated task of coordinating External Affairs and CIDA education and development policies with provincial educational plans.

> institutional growth and development. Initiatives undertaken for international development and/or commercial purposes are eligible. (AAE, 1990: 2; 4)

The Special Programs branch coordinates the programming and financial operations of international, federal and provincial and education and training agreements, however, it is clear that development in this context implies the pursuit of provincial and national economic growth are preferable to development projects in the Third World which may not be able to show a high rate of economic return.

The inherent contradictions in AAE's educational and economic objectives is evident in its rationale that educational linkages supported through Alberta's post-secondary sector will enhance international goodwill and understanding, while at the same time "contribute to the competitiveness of Alberta private sector bids for international projects." The instrumentalist nature of these policy guidelines is clear in its statements that AAAE may provide financial support to international education and development activities while inter-institutional linkages with Alberta's Sister Province educational institutions "will provide assistance... to defray costs of... faculty and student exchanges" coordinate the awarding of [Government of Alberta and Minister of Advanced Education scholarships] to sister province students to study in Alberta (AAE, 1992; 3-4). Scholarship programs provide a strategic tool for facilitating economic links in key geographic regions.

The appeal of these more lucrative linkage agreements is evident in the number of department and faculty linkages between institutions in the "sister" provinces of Heilongjiang, China, Hokkaido, Japan and Kangwon, Korea.and Alberta's postsecondary educational institutions. The University alone, operates eighteen projects with institutions in Japan, ten in China and ten in Korea (see Table 7). Through the International Education Program, the Branch operates an Advanced Education Scholarship Program through which student exchanges are coordinated, and Alberta postsecondary faculty and students are involved in research, educational training and academic study in these countries (AEE, 1989-90: 14).

In addition, the Branch has played a significant role in facilitating institutional linkages between Alberta's post-secondary institutions and international business "to seek project opportunities in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America." (AEE, 1989-90: 14). As a result, the Branch assumes responsibility for the administration of the Pakistan Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC) and support for the Task Force on International Business Education. The University of Alberta operates a total of 54 linkages and agreements in the Asia Pacific region accounting for 64.3 per cent of its total linkages

(Table 7). However, its current operations in the Americeas are limited to three projects in Argentina, Guyana and Jamaica.

The educational policies of Alberta Advanced Education clearly reflect the province's strong political and economic trade interests in the Pacific Rim through its use of scholarship and twinning programs to build trade networks.in this region. This economic agenda is evidenced at both the public and post-secondary education levels where schools have been encouraged to form linkages or partnerships in the Pacific Rim.[4]

Albertans do have an opportunity to influence the policies of the Department of Advanced Education through its Advanced Education Policy Advisory Committee. This Committee was established to address the public's concerns with regard to the roles and responsibilities of the province's post-secondary educational institutions, and is also responsible for pursuing enquires into "issues as requested by the Minister; recommending long-term planning; and to provide knowledge and expertise on postsecondary education and its relationship to Alberta's economic, scientific social and cultural objectives" (AEE, 1989-90: 33). What is unclear however, is the process by which a member is selected to serve on the Advisory Committee.and the degree to which open critical discourse on international development can occur within the context of this environment. These issues present challenges to the role of Alberta Advanced Education as a buffer organization between the universities and federal government. It is evident that although the department is structurally independent of the federal government, it has been deeply penetrated by national political and economic objectives. In addition, the AAE's influence over financial allocations and scholarship awards to universities and foreign and Canadian students clearly reveals the imbalance of power in this relationship. The increasing influence of provincial and national trade interests into university academic mandates is evident in the direction which the University of Alberta's teaching, research and community service mandates have taken within the context of international development. This is discussed later in this chapter.

Despite the absence of an institutional policy on international education and development, the University of Alberta has established a mandate on international cooperation citing three goals which complement the institutional mission statement a number of levels:

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[4] The Asia-Alberta Exchange program coordinated through the provincial office of Alberta Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs legitimizes its program stating: "it is important to remember that Japan is Alberta's second largest trading partner (after the United States). By establishing closer ties with Hokkaido and building mutual trust, we can make it easier to expand our commercial and other interests in this important region." The University of Lethbridge and Hokkaigakkuen have established a formal affiliation for the exchange of faculty, students and information. The Faculty of Medicine at U of A and the Sapporo Medical College signed a medical exchange agreement (U of A, 1992: 14-19)
See also Visions for the Nineties, the 1991 Alberta Education document on public education for further discussion of a Pacific Rim focus in public school curriculum

1. to provide the opportunity for increased the interaction among Canadian and foreign students to promote greater awareness of other cultures and international issues
2. to "promote understanding and goodwill" by providing a supportive environment for international students in which they are encouraged to become "full participants in the university community and the Alberta society"
3. to meet the moral responsibility of the university in the process of international development."
   (AUCC, 1991: 3-9)

While these mandates may imply a focus on a social transformation model of internationalization and development, in practice this has not evident in the majority of ICDS linkage activities. The formal administrative structure at the University has largely been responsible for overseeing the implementation academic and development objectives through the International Affairs Office, which is part of the Office of the Vice-President (Academic). The specific responsibilities of the Coordinator of International Affairs is to:

- to serve as a liaison with CIDA, IDRC and other international development agencies;
- to serve as a liaison with provincial and federal government offices;
- to assist and encourage faculties,departments and individuals with the development of projects and exchanges;
- to host and entertain international visitors as required;
- to call together groups of individuals with allied interests (whether based on subject matter or geographic boundaries)
- to maintain liaison with other campus offices which have an international activities mandate;
- to administer and, where appropriate, to establish projects or programs which are not the responsibility of any other university units;
- to administer the Fund for Support of International Development activities;
- to chair the Advisory Committee on International Affairs
- to perform other tasks assigned by the President or Vice-President (Academic)
  (University of Alberta, 1992: 1)

It is clear that the International Affairs office functions mainly as a facilitative mechanism for international development activities, however, it currently lacks the political and economic decision-making power to select and direct the character and format of institutional linkages.

Under this administrative mandate, the Alberta International office lends support to the following projects:

1. The Cameroon Medical Project (Faculty of Medicine)
2. Daishowa International Student Program
3. The Indonesia Rehabilitation Medicine Project (Faculty of Rehabilitation Medicine)
4. The African Management Project[5]
5. The Canadian Summer Institute for Petroleum Industry Development[6]
6. The University of Alberta-Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology Institutional Linkage (Faculty of Engineering)
(University of Alberta, 1992: 2)

The majority of these projects fall under the multilateral programs co-sponsored through CIDA which results in the link between the University's academic and international development mandate and the provincial and federal governments' international trade efforts (see Appendix IV). The link to the international economic world order is created through asymmetrical partnerships with organizations such as the World Bank, ILO and UNDP, thus making it increasingly difficult for the university to exert significant influence in the decision-making process of development projects such as these; university's academic mandates are becoming increasingly penetrated by external economic interests. However, it is important to note that this model of internationalization is viewed favorably by those members of the faculty who perceive these strategies as a viable means to enhance economic growth in Canada and abroad.

The educational development strategies of the mission statement of Alberta Advanced Education and projects such as the Alberta Summer Institute for Petroleum Industry Development (ASIPID) appear to reflect Toh's (1980: 32) argument that "in the new imperialism ...[there] is the inherent imperative of monopoly capital to seek out, stake out, expand and secure access to and maximally or strategically control markets and sources of raw materials to their ultimate, long-term global advantage..." The 1992 EIP evaluation of ICDS projects partly attributes the expansion of the Canadian university internationalization movement as an outcome of participation on EIP programs

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[5] Under the African Management Project, the University of Alberta , is working as a partner with the World Bank, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Commonwealth Secretariat and the International Labor Organization(ILO) in the design of management development project for 13 African countries. "The AMP Director, Terry Mckey has been involved with these agencies in the design of the project,while working as a consultant to the World Bank." (University of Alberta, Oct. 1989)

[6] The Alberta Summer Institute for Petroleum Industry Development (ASIPID) has been in operation since 1983 under the support from the University of Alberta, and the provincial and federal governments. As of 1988, 247 participants from 45 countries have studied at the University where they take part in a seven-week study program and a one-week orientation session which provides them with an overview of the Alberta and Canadian oil and petroleum industry. A complementary program of social-cultural activities is included to "provide an important balance to sustain participant interest and for our guests to learn more about Canada and Canadians."
(Alberta International. Alberta Summer Institute for a Petroleum Industry Development.)

(EIP,1992: 58). It is evident that internationalization rests on the corporate model of internationalization Canadian universities perceived the tangible impacts of participation in these programs as building the institution's international reputation so that it can access larger [more lucrative] contracts through CIDA's bilateral aid programs or the World Bank and Regional Development Bank programs. Involvement in these projects is also seen as a strategy to attract "high quality professors and a better crop of students [who are] attracted to the academic potential of the university" (ibid: 58). In this context, it appears that ICDS projects are perceived as a stepping-stone to more lucrative international development projects and the implication is that this will improve the academic excellence of the institution on a faculty and student level. Both strategies overlook the point that the key objective of ICDS projects is to facilitate social transformation as well as economic development in both partner institutions.

The Alberta International office is also limited to a responsive role in international linkages by a lack of decision and policy-making power. It reports to the Coordinator of International Affairs and is responsible to strengthen the international dimension of the University by:

- informing faculties and departments of international opportunities
- assisting them with their international activities
- reporting on international activities at the University of Alberta (University of Alberta, 1992: 2)

On campus, the International Liaison Officer's role is limited to the liaison and coordination of CIDA's EIP projects, administration and coordination of the university's extra-curricular international programs and international linkage agreements. therefore functioning more as another type of buffer between the university and the external local, national and international communities. However, there are two key elements in this office which have the greatest potential to facilitate a more transformative model of internationalization and development. The Director of the Alberta International office contributes information to support CUPID and CUE international databases which are a rich source of data on international development experiences conducted by Canadian universities. These database networks could be used a prime catalyst to promote the reciprocal exchange of information so that educational networks in the Third World could be built. In addition, the Director serves with the Coordinator of International Affairs as the International Liaison Officer for AUCC, and therefore has direct access to the agency which will be coordinating CIDA's EIP linkages in the near future (CIDA,1992; AUCC,1992). However, one of the major factors which limits the expansion of the

University's involvement in development projects in the Third World is economic restraints.

When faced with a projected deficit of $2.3 million in 1991, the University formed a Strategic Planning Task Force consisting of "academic, business and community leaders" to examine key issues surrounding the roles and responsibilities of the University. The University chose to pursue a re-structuring process in which dwindling financial resources were re-allocated to programs which were deemed as "more effective", while other academic programs were reduced or amalgamated with others. The rationale for the re-structuring was cited in the document Challenges and Choices (University of Alberta,1991: 2) as the intent "to build on our strengths to meet the challenges that will increasingly face us all in the globally-competitive, knowledge-based economy." This perspective was reiterated at the Vision 2000 public forum on the government's position paper Towards 2000 Together held in Edmonton March 30-April 2, 1993. President Davenport indicated the university's support for the province's mission "to prepare the province for the 21st century by uniting the energies of Albertans in making choices to accelerate the environmentally-sound economic growth and diversification, thereby enhancing the quality of life for Albertans" (University of Alberta, April 3, 1993; Government of Alberta, 1992). His statements at the forum offer insights into future re-structuring strategies which emphasize the university's research role in economic development. He stated that "To help Albertans move confidently toward 2000 within an increasingly knowledge-based economy, the province's policy-makers must distinguish between research-intensive universities and other institutions of advanced education". To support his argument, he cited the fact that the University of Alberta is already the largest research institution in the province conducting over $ 83 million in externally funded research in 1992, linking its research activities with those of 26 research-based companies and research centres. In particular, he indicated that the university is strongly supportive of:

a) a shared government, public educational and industrial commitment to scientific and technological development to enhance Alberta' economy
b) increased university/industry cooperation in R & D
c) continued financial support for research infrastructure and facility development for private sector/ university/ government research and development collaborations
(University of Alberta, April 3, 1993)

Since the University already has an extensive number of specialized research centres and institutions in place, Davenport's inference that University should be designated as a research institution is implies the presence of administrative support for such a move. Sixty research centres and institutes are listed in the advertisement brochure

Three Canadian Universities in International Development which presents the international development activities of the University of Alberta, Laval, and McGill University. The following research centres are listed to introduce and to outline their principal strengths and international experiences and to 'welcome all inquiries and proposals':

1. The Water Resources Centre
2. The Mctaggart Ecological Sanctuary
3. The Ellerslie Agricultural and Meteorological Research Station
4. The Institute of Earth and Planetary Physics
5. The Boreal Institute for Northern Studies (now called CCI)
6. The Population Research Laboratory
7. The Centre for Frontier Engineering Research
8. The Nuclear Research Centre (part of the Tri-University Meson Facility (TRIUMF) at UBC)

In addition, the following are designated by the Alberta International Directory as organizations which are involved in international development:

1. Canadian Circumpolar Institute (CCI)
2. Canadian Institute for Nordic Studies (CINS)
3. Canadian Institute of Ukranian Studies
4. Centre for International Business Studies (CIBS)
5. Centre for International Education and Development (CIED)
6. Shastri-Indo Canadian Institute
7. International Institute for Peace Education
(University of Alberta, 1992)

The Center for International Education and Development (CIED) was established in 1982 by the Faculty of Education The policy statement describes its role as "facilitatory and coordinating... in the various international education activities which are undertaken by the Faculty of Education" (CIED, 1990: 1). The functions of the Center focus on "teaching, as in the case of the professional preparation of individuals...leading to the acquisition of qualifications such as Graduate Diplomas, M.Ed.'s and Ph. D.'s" (ibid: 3). The university is also linked with external agencies the Alberta Heritage Foundation for Medical Research (AHMFMR), the federal Medical Research Council (MRC) and Alberta Research Council (ARC), a crown corporation of the Province of Alberta, which was founded in 1921 by Dr. Henry Marshall Tory, the first President of the University of Alberta. The University of Alberta has established an international reputation in the fields of medical and agricultural research and development. There are also strong R & D partnerships in the field of science and technology; over 600 academic and private industry employees are involved in ARC research in Advanced Computing and Engineering, Alberta Geological Survey, Biotechnology, Coal and Hydrocarbon Processing, Electronics Testing, Environmental

Research and Engineering, Forestry, Manufacturing Technologies and Oilsands and Hydrocarbon Recovery.

While the scope of research fields at the University of Alberta are diverse, it is difficult to measure the impact of research from these centres on the local or international community or the degree to which research is integrated with the teaching and community service functions. These issues are beyond the scope of this study at this time. However, it is clear that applied research activities and marketing Canadian HRD abroad are a dominant focus in the University's research mandate. A member of the faculty argued that the division of academic interests between technological research and development research may be attributed to "the general view by main-line academics that if you get involved in international research, unless it's on the cutting edge of research, it's 'make-busy work'... but it doesn't really progress you within the profession or the discipline" (UA/A1, 1993). This perspective was reiterated by a UBC interviewee who expressed frustration at the lack of interest and support for collaborative research in Education at his institution (UBC: PC/3).

Research and teaching functions at the university level have traditionally operated as independent and at times competing educational functions. This has often resulted in a disjuncture between the generation of new knowledge and its application and implementation. The lack of coordination between univeristy's the teaching and research functions for Third World institutions is often often due to the lack research facilities and faculty skilled in research procedures, this has been a major barrier to the sustainability of the development process, especially in the context of ICDS projects. While a number of ICDS project coordinators indicated that their objective was to foster research on issues relevant to development (UA/PC: 1, UA/PC: 2,UA/PC: 3), in practice with the limitation of Third World resources, this goal has proved difficult to achieve. One project coordinator attributed this difficulty to certain ICDS policies which he felt a lacked concern for Western and Third World research. She argued that:

> ...[the ICDS] projects don't build in a research component-that has to be attached separately which is a bit of a pain for people like me. I would like to be able to conduct some research in conjunction with other projects.(UA: PC/2: 1992)

CIDA officials argue that ICDS projects do not incorporate a research component because this function is facilitated more effectively through the IDRC Branch. As a result, educational activities in ICDS projects tend to focus more on professional training and institution-building. However, this practice often confines international students to the prescribed program of studies for Masters' and Ph.D. programs which bear minimal relevance to Third World development issues and and projects are highly dependent on

Western resource materials (EIP, 1992; Dore, 1976). This practice is also perpetuated through the demands of the partner institution which also tends to support meritocratic practices. This shortsighted development strategy critically limits the ability of partner institution to generate a body of relevant indigenous knowledge which is a one of the root causes of underdevelopment of human resources in the Third World. As one project coordinator succinctly pointed out," they don't always lack the management skills, they lack the resources" (UA: PC3/A3).

This competition is evident in the struggle to find funding for institutional linkage projects. The dilemma has expanded in light of the current re-structuring of CIDA's Public Participation Program. Restrictions on ICDS application and funding process and the federal government's reduced financial support of universities have placed even greater pressure on these institutions to pursue more lucrative R & D contracts in the private sector which is evidenced in Table 7.

The University of Alberta's role in international development has expanded to its current sponsorship of a total of 84 international linkage and exchange programs throughout the world. However, the 8 ICDS projects constitute only 9.5 per cent of the total linkages and therefore represent a very small proportion of the university's international development initiatives. Due to the intense competition for ICDS contracts and the limited number funded by CIDA, the small number of projects in operation at the University of Alberta is likely not a reflection of the lack of support for this type of program. In spite of these limitations, the University has succeeded in initiating eight projects, four of which are the focus of this case study. Two projects, the CIDA-funded Youth Initiatives project in India, 1992 and Zimbabwe,1993, represented a unique attempt to facilitate a socially transformative model of development by taking student teachers from the University to live and work in rural communities in the Third World.[7] These programs were not included in the study since technically, they do not fit the category of institutional linkages.

Only 12 linkages (14.3%) of the total linkages and agreements are concentrated in the least developed countries as compared to 20 links (34.5%) of the links are located in middle-income countries, it is not clear whether this is a factor of the project application or the selection process. These statistics substantiate the 1988 and 1992 EIP reports which indicated that the majority of ICDS projects do not meet CIDA's ODA priority of helping the poorest nations (CIDA, 1987).

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[7] Two project coordinators declined to participate in the study and the third ICDS project was not included as part of the sample because it involved a Youth Initiatives Grant which falls under another category of development education programming and is thus not comparable to the regular ICDS contracts.

The ICDS projects currently in operation are unique in that they have been able to circumvent ICDS restrictions on research and have succeeded in incorporating a research component into 4 of the 8 projects. There is also a strong focus on education as a key component of development as 4 of the 4 projects studied are sponsored through CIED in the Faculty of Education, in contrast to UBC which has only two ICDS projects located in the Faculty of Education. This trend can largely attributed to the efforts of Dr. M. K. Bacchus, a Faculty member who has developed an extensive personal and professional network in international development with such organizations as the World Bank and the United Nations during his forty year career in the field. Initiation of the projects however, came from a variety of sources ranging from the formal government-to-government requests for assistance to informal discussions at international conferences and seminars, thus confirming EIP findings that the origin of the majority of ICDS linkages are more serendipitous than structured (ibid: 1992). This point also reinforces the need for supporting the role of buffer organizations in facilitating this type of professional networking through conferences, seminars and telecommunication links. However, with increasing pressure from the federal government and business to use these organizations as brokers for marketing Canadian universities' HRD, the future of ICDS linkages is in jeopardy.

The 1992 EIP evaluation of ICDS projects partly attributes the expansion of the Canadian university internationalization movement as an impact of participation on EIP programs. However, it is likely that the the expansion of the University's internationalization activities, particularly in the context of ICDS linkages support a blend of the corporate and liberal-democratic models due to the lack of financial support from AAE for educational incentives in the Third World. However, while the choice of partners illustrates a preference for more lucrative institutional linkages, the educational practices conducted through ICDS projects need to be investigated directly in order to ascertain if modernization paradigms are supported in practice. This is another area of research which requires further investigation. There is some indication of support for the corporate model as projects coordinators interviewed by the EIP evaluation committee sited building the institution's international reputation to facilitate access to larger contracts through CIDA's bilateral aid programs or the World Bank and Regional Development Bank programs.as one of the most tangible impacts of EIP projects on Canadian universities (EIP,1992:41). Involvement in these projects is also seen as a strategy to attract "high quality professors and a better crop of students [who are] attracted to the academic potential of the university" (ibid: 58). In this context, the implication is that these linkages will improve the academic excellence of the institution on a faculty and student level.

It is not clear whether the figures in Table 7 illustrate the University's institutional commitment to development in the Third World for a variety of reasons. First, since the majority of linkages are initiated and implemented through individual faculty members or departments, these numbers cannot be construed in any way as representative of an institutional commitment to international development. Secondly, CIDA's highly competitive and restrictive application and selection process limits the University's further involvement in ICDS projects. In addition, since the number of unsuccessful ICDS application submissions have not been fully documented by CIDA or the universities, it is difficult to identify who is accountable for this inequitable distribution of EIP contracts which favor middle-income countries. Until the recent restriction in ICDS applications, the University submitted all proposals given to Alberta International by U of A Faculty (UA: A1, 1992). However, with the onus now being placed on university administration to make the initial selection (AUCC,1992), there is an even greater need for universities to formulate some type of institutional policy and establish development program evaluation criteria. The type of professionals who are selected to sit on this committee will be a good indication of the University's commitment to support a socially transformative development mission.

The strong influence of Alberta Advanced Education's corporate internationalization policies and strategic funding practices is illustrated in the number of linkages in Asia and the Pacific Rim (54 links: 64.6% of the total). Eighteen of the eighty-four links are located in Japan; 11 of the 18 projects focus on teaching and applied research in the fields of Engineering, Agriculture, Science and Technology, while 3 of the projects are focused in the fields of Law, Economics and Business. In particular, the Nigata University Agreement stipulates that the exchange of scholars and students in the Faculty of Law will be based on "principles of mutual equality and reciprocity of profit".(University of Alberta, 1992: 16). This trend supports the current technocratic rationalism of current EAITC and CIDA development policies which favor corporate and liberal-democratic paradigms of internationalization and illustrates the University's unreflexive response to external economic and and political forces. This was supported in an interview with a senior administrator who rationalized these practices by arguing that:

> The university is a collection of individuals-they have their own agendas. If they're good researchers, they'll make sure their research is reflected out of the international projects-that does involve going to Japan and Europe where they see it as an opportunity to see frontline research.
> (UA: A1 , 1992)

The influence of internationalization and market forces is even more evident in its recent development activities in Russia. Of particular significance in light of the current shift in CIDA's aid policies is the development of the Russian project with Altai State University. The U of A/Altai State University Project is designed to improve the quality of higher education in the Siberian region through the training and upgrading of Altai State University staff from November, 1991 to November, 1996. The program, which is sponsored under the Centre for International Education and Development (CIED) in the Faculty of Education, focuses on the training of Russian educators in the fields of educational administration, curriculum development, student evaluation and English as a Second Language, (University of Alberta, Sept. 1990). The objectives of the project are described as follows:

> Education has an important role to play in the reconstruction of any society. In Russia today, the move towards a market economy and the democratization of the society, calls for reforms in the delivery of educational programs. The democratization process cannot be effective if educational reforms are not taken. Teachers and other professionals in the field, have to acquire new training and concepts that will assist them to develop a curriculum that reflects a more democratic society. Democratization should begin at the school level, children going to school should learn about values that are important in a democratic society.
> Children cannot acquire such an education if teachers are not equipped to teach them. Education for democracy is new in Russia and this project is an attempt to introduce a new system of education that will be part of the democratization process. The focus of this proposal is institution-building.
> (University of Alberta: Project Submission to External Affairs and International Trade, Canada, Task Force on Central and Eastern Europe. Nov. 9, 1992)

This researcher acted as a liaison for a Department Head and Rector of Altai University during their visits to Canada, attending their lectures and meetings with the Coordinator of Alberta International and the Director of International Business Studies. From October to December,1992, a Russian Education professor attended this lecturer's Education Practicum 151 course, and participated in dialogues with the Canadian student teachers on educational philosophies and teaching practices. Based on these informal discussions and an informal survey of the two project participants she met, there appeared to be two major theoretical issues which had not yet been addressed in this ICDS project. The project's, focus on HRD through institution-building is based on a "trickle-down" theory of development which assumed that social consensus among the Altai faculty for the democratization process exists. In the context of this project, the underdevelopment of Russian HRD is attributed to a lack of democratic reform models, and overlooks the inability of Western models of legalistic or liberal democracy to adequately address structural inequalities. Therefore the project placed a strong emphasis on democratic reform within the institution. Since the project is based on the training "a group of 12 instructors will form the teaching staff in the department of education who will attend short sessions given by Canadians in Altai." (CIED, 1992), it is doubtful that the project will have a significant "multiplier effect." Further research needs to be conducted to test effectiveness of the theory of institution-building as a 'multiplier effect' for facilitating the development of human resources.

Examination of the pattern of student enrollments also reveals some interesting insights into internationalization and development practices at the University. The regional distribution of international students reflects a similar pattern to the distribution of international linkages. Table 4 provides an overview of the pattern of foreign enrolment at U of A in 1992-93.[8] Like the international linkages, the majority of international students originate from Asia and the Pacific (1007 or 65.9% of the total enrolment). Within that group, the highest number of students originate from China and Hong Kong (564 or 36.9% of the total enrolment). However, Japanese students appear to be under-represented in relation to the number of institutional linkage programs which the University operates in Japan. When combined with the Korean, Taiwanese and Malaysian enrolments, these statistics re-confirm the strong influence of the Pacific Rim nations (729 or 47.7%), which is likely due to the lucrative Pacific Rim scholarship program sponsored by Alberta Advanced Education and the ability of students from these regions to pay for study abroad.

Even more significant is the under-representation of international students from the least developed countries in the Third World. Only seven LLDC countries are represented in the overall enrolment accounting for a total of 216 students or 14.6 per cent of the population. A number of factors may explain their notable absence from the University. First and foremost, given their countries' critical economic status and the limited access to educational opportunities, the number of students who actually make it to the post-secondary level is very low. Since basic needs are of primary importance in these countries, most aid programs focus on healthcare and food aid. However, it must also be acknowledged that students who attain post-secondary levels are often those who have access to private funds and are therefore the most likely candidates for study abroad. In addition, under the current structure of ICDS programs, this disparity is perpetuated because of the focus on bringing administrative and teaching staff to Canada for training and study. The recent cutback in development aid may also exacerbate the problem of limited access to post-secondary education as five of the seven countries designated by CIDA as "the least developed" (CIDA, 1992: 110) are located in Africa.

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[8] Ideally, the pattern of enrollment would be more insightful if the number and distribution of CIDA and Pacific Rim scholarships could be ascertained. However, this researcher was unable to procure these figures as the University and CIDA considers this information as highly confidential.

Although student representation from Russia and the Eastern European Bloc is also very low (43 or 2.8%), with the recent shift in CIDA policies to favour development projects in Eastern Europe and Russia, it is likely that international student enrolment from these areas will increase significantly over the next five years and based on current trends in international education at the provincial and federal levels, it is likely that there will be increasing support for corporate and liberal-democratic models of internationalization. Future research in this area could reveal some interesting patterns in global education and development activities. This dramatic ideological shift in Canadian foreign aid development policies has presented serious challenges to the whole concept of development in the context of institutional linkages. The need for open public discourse is urgent; the drawback is that discussions are taking place in a period of economic crisis which has had a detrimental effect on Canadian attitudes regarding foreign aid. During this period, the academic community at the University has been mute in reaction to the decline in humanitarian aid to the Third World. Despite faculty involvement in ICDS projects, the majority of protests against aid cutbacks to the Third World have risen from the non-academic staff on campus.[9] Members of the International Center, CIED, and the Alberta Teachers Association Global Education Project staff responded by initiating public dialogues and protests in reaction to the cutbacks.

In 1987, an attempt was made to establish international development policies at the institutional level. The document entitled Draft Policies: The Next Decade and Beyond (Oct. 1987) was submitted to President Myer Horowitz in response to the strategic planning document, The Next Decade and Beyond: A Plan for the Future. The major recommendations were for the increase in the university's international commitment in the areas of research, and development, through student and faculty exchanges, curriculum development made by incorporating research in the field of international issues (University of Alberta, 1987: 38). Two key issues raised were the role of universities as social change agents and the role of international students in development education. The document argued that "Universities have historically been agents of development in society" through their research and teaching and that international students represented "a living resource" whose potential has largely remained untapped. However, five years later, the majority of university's international linkage programs still favor corporate and liberal-democratic models of internationalization.

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[9] Shortly after the announcement of the change in CIDA's aid programs the staff of the University of Alberta, International Centre mounted a campaign to send cards to CIDA and the federal government in protest of the decline in aid to the Third World.

The Alberta International Liaison Office has attempted, on a number of occasions, to generate institutional support for greater involvement in international development by circulating a model statement to all Deans , departments and faculties indicating that it is an acceptable criteria for academic salary and promotion, however, only the faculties of Home Economics, Education, Agriculture and Forestry accepted it. and "we have no mandate to tell them what to do" (UA/1). A major impediment to further faculty involvement in international development is the lack of a clearly defined theoretical model of development to guide educational activities; the outcome has been the continued support for meritocratic and technocratic strategies which have had limited impact on the general population in the Third World.

The Alberta International Office has taken a leadership role however, in keeping the lines of communication open for critical dialogue, sponsoring public seminars on development issues, and by publishing the University of Alberta International Directory and The Globe and U Bulletin to keep the academic and local community informed of its internationalization and development activities. The University of Alberta senior administration remains resistant to remove its differential fee for foreign students.which is a significant factor in their enrollment at the university.

Based on the examination of ICDS projects, and other institutional linkages coordinated through the ILO office, it is clear that many of the University's more socially transformative development activities are supported through the informal education sector on campus and through local NGO's while development education has mainly been facilitated mainly through activities sponsored by the University's International Center. The Center also maintains the CUE and CUPID databases of international exchanges and international development projects that is used extensively by other universities and the AUCC. The International Center also sponsors the annual International Week seminars, workshops and lectures which provide a lively environment for academic and public critical discourse on development issues in the Third World. The majority of incentives for open public discourse of development issues and attempts to establish critical self-reflection and dialogue regarding the development of institutional policies for internationalization of university education has been generated by administrative members of the International Center, Alberta International, Canadian graduate and undergraduate students and a small number of faculty members. Melody Wharton, Development Education officer for the International Centre indicated that:

> The Centre has a larger vision for development education on campus. As a program, it would advocate for justice-related international development work by the University of Alberta; it would include recognition by the University of Alberta of the importance of a development or global education for all university students regardless of discipline.
> (University of Alberta International Week, CIDA On Campus: Working Forum.
> Feb. 4, 1992)

At a recent meeting sponsored by the International Center to discuss the development of a Directory of Courses with an Global Education perspective, only two faculty members were in attendance despite an extensive mail-out to Faculty throughout the institution. However, CIED and Club IDC, operating in the Department of Educational Foundations, have attempted to broden student and Faculty awareness and involvement in development issues. The attendence at development seminars and presentations offered by these two groups however, has been very low. Economic gain cannot be cited as a motivating factor for University or Faculty members' involvement in ICDS linkages in the Third World because in reality, these projects often place a significant strain on the university's financial, physical.and human resources for their delivery. However, although the financial rewards for participation in ICDS projects are few, the linkages can still be guided by liberal paradigms of internationalization as is illustrated in the following examination of the Universities' efforts to transform CIDA and ICDS policies into educational practices.

5.3 Transforming Development Policies to Educational Practice

While the University's academic mission statement illustrates strong support for CIDA and Alberta Education's corporate models of internationalization, this perspective of internationalization and development is not necessarily shared by its Faculty and support staff. Although there is consensus in the belief that the university must adapt its traditional roles of teaching, research and community service to address the diverse social and economic needs of the Canadian and global society, there is significant ideological conflict at the community, institutional, faculty and departmental levels over direction which that change should take. Yet in spite of these conflicts, and in the absence of an institutionalized development or internationalization policy, the university continues to expand its activities in international education. The following is a description of the range of ICDS projects currently delivered through various Faculties and Departments at the University:

A. ONGOING CIDA-FUNDED ICDS UNIVERSITY LINKAGE PROJECTS

(Alberta International [1992] International Directory
non-scholarship projects conducted as of July 1990)

TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS COMMITTED TO PROJECTS: $2,972,000.00

1. INDONESIAN REHABILITATION SERVICES COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (ICDS) $724,147.

   Dates: March,1989-March 31, 1995.

   This project links the University of Alberta and the Academy of Physiotherapy in Solo, Indonesia to develop the host university's physiotherapy research capacity and occupational therapy, speech pathology and audiology programs.

   U of A Faculty/Dept: Dept. of Occupational Therapy.

   External Liaison: Academy of Physiotherapy, Surakarta.

2. EDUCATIONAL SERVICES DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, NEPAL (ICDS) $686,861.

   Dates: October, 1989-October, 1995.

   The goal of this institutional linkage between the Centre for Educational Research, Innovation and Development (CERID), Tribhuvan University and the Centre for International Education and Development (CIED) U of A is to strengthen the capacity of CERID to carry out program development and evaluation.

   U of A Faculty/Dept: Educational Foundations.

   External Liaison: CERID, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.

3. HOME ECONOMICS FACULTY UPGRADING, KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, KENYA (ICDS) $761,463.

   Dates: December,1989-April 30, 1992.

   This project links the University of Alberta with Kenyatta University to aid in the development of a strong master's program in the Faculty of Home Economics in the host institution, based on an ongoing research program focused on development issues, particularly those of women and families. in urban settings.

U of A Faculty/Dept: Dept. of Rural Economy.
External Liaison: Home economics.

4. PRIMARY HEALTH CARE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT, UNIVERSITY OF YAOUNDE, CAMEROON $ (ICDS) 789,424.
   Dates: March, 1987-Sept. 1993.
   The goal of this project is to provide the University of Alberta's expertise and support in the field of primary health care trainingby initiation and support of Primary Health Care instruction to students of Centre Universitaire des Sciences de la Sante (CUSS) in a Primary Health Care Centre in the community of Oyomabang.
   U of A Faculty/dept: Dept. of Pediatrics.
   External Liaison: Centre Universitaire de la Sante.

5. Jamaica, Belize,& Bahamas- University of West Indies, Kingston $ (ICDS) funding approved (amount not available to date). Expiry Date: 1997.
   The project is designed to strengthen the institutional capacity of the teachers' colleges to upgrade the quality of elementary teacher education in three countries through the Joint Board of Teacher Education.
   U of A Faculty/Dept: Educational Foundations.
   External Liaison: Dept. of Teacher Education Development, University of W. Indies.

6. THE NAMIBIA PRE-SERVICE TEACHER EDUCATION PROJECT (ICDS) $922,057.
   Dates: February 1992-January 1997.
   This project is a funded linkage between the Namibia Institute of Education and the Centre for International Education(CIED) to strengthen the institutional capacity of Namibia's primary teachers' colleges to upgrade the quality of their work.
   U of A Dept/Faculty: Dept. of Elementary Education.
   External Liaison: Ministry of Education and Culture, Namibia.

7. The Institution and Staff Development Project-Makerere University Uganda (ICDS) $752,609.

Dates: Nov. 1990- March 1995.
The purpose of this project is to strengthen the institutional capacity of the School of Education at Makerere University to carry out its own teacher in-service training, advisory and research functions. The objectives will be achieved by training personnel to write and develop instructional materials to be used by teacher educators and trainees teachers to upgrade the education system in Uganda.
U of A Faculty/Dept: Educational Foundations.
External Liaison: School of Education, Makerere University
(University of Alberta,1992; CIDA, 1991)

ICDS projects are expected to meet the four ODA objectives outlined in Sharing Our Future (CIDA, 1987), however, there are a number of economic, political, social and organizational factors which seriously limit the achievement of these goals. While CIDA and ICDS policy documents refer to these linkages as "partnerships" and emphasize that activities are "cooperative" and "collaborative" (CIDA, 1987, 1991, 1992), these projects are subject to the same restrictive bureaucratic structure which has undermined the institutions' ability to operate the programs collboratively. (EIP, 1992: 9-15). The University's contract for establishing linkages has made an attempt to facilitate collaboration by offering guidelines in its Memorandum of Understanding (Appendix VII) under the heading of "Scope of Cooperation" Cooperation shall be carried out through such activities as:

a. Exchange of faculty and/or staff
b. Exchange of graduate and/or undergraduate students
c. Joint research activities and publications
d. Participation in seminars and academic meetings
e. Exchange of academic materials and other information
f. Special short-term academic positions
(University of Alberta, July 7, 1992: 1)

The reality is that ICDS institutional linkages operate within the confines of a highly competitive meritocratic and technocratic educational system, and the institution's heirarchical structure has severely limited the ability to build true partnerships' (EIP, 1992: 40) since the design, implementation and evaluation of the projects rests mainly with the Canadian partner. This raises a number of questions about the potential of Western universities to facilitate structural, substantive and theoretical indigenization in the context of institutionalized linkages (Carnoy 1976, 1974, 1990; Dore, 1976; Altbach, 1971) and may be an argument for the maintaining development partnerships at the faculty or NGO level.

The sustainability of these projects is also questionable given the projects' current status in the university community. There is an underlying assumption that the mere presence of international students and international projects on Canadian campuses facilitates the development of both Canadian and international students' global awareness, understanding and fosters democratic social action. This point was reiterated in all ICDS interviews conducted at U of A. However, the assumption that "pluralistic" attitudes and "democratic behaviour" can be "learned" in this context is overly simplistic in its understanding of the processes of cross-cultural social interaction Brueggemann (1987) argues that new insights and revelations occur not in situations of equilibrium but rather, at points of disjunction in which the individual is impinged upon in formative and transformative ways. Global racial and cultural tensions and misunderstandings are clear proof that physical proximity does not necessarily facilitate interaction or understanding. A cooperative and collaborative mechanism within the infrastructure would be needed to enhance this type of informal educational experiences. If ICDS projects are to be sustainable, there must be more opportunities for broader collaborative involvement of both partner's faculty, students and the larger community. in the design, implementation and ongoing evaluation of these projects.

Based on the project descriptions (University of Alberta, 1992) and dialogues and interviews with the ICDS program coordinators, the difficulty in achieving the four ODA objectives were revealed.

However, Table 6 illustrates that of the four projects examined, none directly addressed the goal of poverty alleviation and only one project had built in a strong component for sustainability. The project coordinated by UA/PC3/A3 appears to have the greatest potential for sustainability because of its strong community-based connections in the Third World and the collaborative effort in establishing internal networks and communication channels which can facilitate dialogues.

Based on the findings of the interviews, it was evident that all project coordinators perceived themselves as facilitators rather than experts in the development process. The willingness of Canadian partners to work cooperatively with their development counterparts rather than direct them was identified as one of the greatest strengths of Canadian ODA programs (UA: PC/1/A2). Despite the extensive development experiences of some program coordinators, they each perceived their role as facilitative rather than directive because they acknowledged that the development process was continued to be a learning process for them as well. They commented that:

> I don't go in as an expert, I go in as a person, I've got some knowledge and skills and they bring knowledge and skills to that relationship also. Through that process, there is some sort of catalyst, some kind of energy that arises that contributes to the development process....we go in with a mandate to assist and strengthen. I think we can't do that unless we have social consensus and a good knowledge base. We inevitably become social change agents because of the kinds of questions we ask. (UA:PC3/A3,1992)
> You're not conforming to a general pattern-like here, everybody goes into the classroom, everybody has a mid-term and a final. There isn't any pattern for you to follow-or at least, the pattern you know that you don't want to follow what they're doing because it hasn't been particularly effective. So you know you want to do something different but what that something is is a big question mark.
> (UA: PC2, 1992)
>
> I learned "OJT"- on the job training..."you can't have one person be the total curriculum expert, that just not the way the world goes.
> (UA: PC4/A4)
>
> I think if you talk about sustainability, Canadians are very good at working with students from developing countries rather than telling them what to do.(UA: PC1/A2, 1992)

While all interviewees acknowledged their professional expertise in their field of studies, they also readily admitted that, in the context of Third World education and development, this knowledge and experience had limited direct relevance in the educational and socio-political context of the partner institution. The researcher's hypothesis that involvement in development activities is an educative process for certain individuals was substantiated in the interviews. Responses from all 5 interviewees who indicated participation in ICDS projects was a significant personal learning experience.for them. They also indicated that these activities gave them an opportunity to also reflect on Canadian educational policies and practices (Appendix IX: UA: PC/1/A/2, UA: PC/2., UA: PC/3./A/3, UA: PC/4/A/4). Two project coordinators described the experience as personally transformative, stating that:

> You're forced much more into a questioning mode when you're over there ...you're not conforming to a general pattern like here, everybody goes into the classroom, everybody has a mid-term and a final. There isn't any pattern for you to follow or at least, the old pattern you know that you don't want to follow - what they're used to doing because it hasn't been particularly productive, so you want to try something different but what that difference is a big question mark. (UA: PC/2)
>
> I had to go through quite a bit of learning in that process... To be honest, some of those perspectives I had a long time ago. When you work in cross-cultural classes, you have to use techniques to involve everyone. I was sensitive to those issues [but] some of my thinking was stereotypical in relation to poverty and to infrastructure. It's given me much more concrete knowledge in specific situations. I'm going to ask new questions. (UA: PC/4/A4)

However, taken from a project participant's perspective, the experience may not seem as transformative. In all projects, there is a strong focus on formal academic study; since ICDS projects have been structured by CIDA to evaluate a project's 'success' in terms of output of Masters' and P.Hd students, it is evident that the main role of the universities is to promote Third World universities as a source of human capital and a centre for the generation of knowledge (EIP, 1992: 37). "CIDA feels that producing an M.A. is better than a PhD. because they don't take the long view..." (UA: A1). Since it was beyond the scope of this study to examine actual teaching and research practices in the context of these projects, it is difficult to delineate what type of skills and knowledge are being transmitted through these programs. However, given that the majority of projects focus on training international students within the context of the Canadian Masters' and PhD, it can be speculated that Western knowledge and skills are more likely being reproduced than the development of indigenous knowledge in ICDS linkages which do not have a clear understanding of social transformation. This perspective was supported in an interview at UBC. An the international student indicated that "the learning acitivities were very broad... the Practicum provided a setting for experience, so you're basically reproducing what you see" (UBC: IS/1). This point was reitiereated many times in informal conversations with international students on both campuses. The nature of international students' educational experiences in Canadian universities is also influenced greatly by their supervisors' perception of their role in the education and development process.

There is also the underlying assumption that the presence of international students and international projects on Canadian campuses facilitates the development of students' global awareness and understanding. This point was reiterated through all ICDS interviews conducted at U of A. However, with the exception of one project, the other institutional linkages were not designed to provide opportunities for Canadian students to be directly or indirectly involved in the project or the international students, yet all project coordinators acknowledged the importance of the development project experience in expanding their own understanding of education and development. In three of the four interviews conducted, the project coordinators rationalized the lack of formal efforts to facilitate cross-cultural dialogues on the assumption that that these experiences were mediated to Canadian and international students through regular formal class instruction. However, this trickle-down theory of development reflects the weaknesses of many universities' ICDS projects and is documented by Patricia Campbell, the western regional ICDS officer and other U of A faculty:

> There is a tendency everywhere for one person to take a project and run away with it and particularly in Faculty where you have faculty members (not specific to this University) who has a pet project, and the influence of that project really doesn't go beyond that faculty member. The rest of the Faculty is not brought into it, let alone the rest of the school. That is one of the things that would be really beneficial for everybody to become more involved and more aware.
> (University of Alberta, International Week, February 4, 1992)

Only one of the four ICDS projects were designed to incorporate departmental support and involvement of Canadian faculty and students (UA: PC4/A4). The "ownership" approach to project delivery seriously undermines the sustainability of linkages because it over-emphasizes the project control by the project coordinator at the expense of more collaborative involvement of department faculty, students and community members. Given the current threats to the future of ICDS linkages, this "service-client" mentality is unproductive and self-destructive. CIED is attempting to avoid this isolationist trend by developing an advisory committee composed of representatives from all departments in the Faculty. However, the dissemination of information to the general public and student body still remains a weakness of ICDS projects.

The project coordinators' references to the development process as a questioning process illustrates the need for the incorporation of critical reflection and dialogue because it is within this kind of collaborative structure that development experiences can be reciprocally transformative (Habermas, 1970, 1974). But even the benefits accrued from this strategy limited by a number of structural inequalities which exist between the two institutions. While Canadian institutions have the opportunity to access the needs and capabilities of the developing country partner through extensive national and international databases created by development agencies such as IDRC, CIDA, the World Bank and UNDP, it is more difficult for Third World institutions to access the Canadian universities' ability to provide relevant services due to financial restraints for visits and the lack of an adequate database to "shop around" for appropriate partners and programs. Secondly, the current structure of the project application process requires the Canadian institution to submit the proposal and to channel CIDA funding and information, therefore the donor-recipient mentality at the bureaucratic level.seriously limits direct opportunities for involvement of Third world partners in the design stage (EIP, 1992: 39). The recent re-structuring of ICDS and the move to use the AUCC as knowledge-brokers may facilitate more collaborative partnerships.

The lack of coordination between the teaching, research and community service functions which is evident ICDS projects is likely a result of the segregation of these functions in the regular academic programs and this a significant factor in the limited sustainability of development projects delivered through institutional linkage programs. One Faculty member expressed frustration with the feeling of isolation:

> "I am alarmed about developments because I think right now, based on the project we're involved in which I think is doing some valuable work and I'm very committed to, I do not detect on the part of the university a very strong commitment to international work and I think this is going to be eroded even more on fiscal philosophical grounds...and I certainly feel from my own part that I am disconnected and that if we do continue our work in this area we have to find better mechanisms internally to try to connect people into what's happening in terms of the big picture. This is very much connected to the way universities are run in isolation to a large extent, but I think we could do a bit more. (UA: PC4/A4. 1992)

Yet some programs are able to overcome these structural weaknesses in creative manners. Project UA: PC4/A4 has succeeded in achieving a high potential for partnership sustainability by integrating its academic functions with it development objectives. This had largely been accomplished through extensive critical dialogues which have established a strong commitment to the project at the faculty level. The project was accepted only after the faculty met to discuss the project and assess their individual and collective responsibilities in the project. The project coordinator, who is also the Chair of the Department, indicated that:

> when I took the project on, I said I'm not willing to take this on unless I have a commitment on the part of the faculty to be involved, because my understanding is that it's fine for me to take the project, but I'm not the expert in all these fields, nor am I prepared to do all the work given my other job and so it had to be a faculty commitment.
> (UA: PC4/A4)

With this understanding, the project has been set up to incorporate input from the faculty, staff and the college and healthcare community thus building a strong teaching and working network for the delivery of the project (see Appendix IX). The same expectations were set in their partner institutions which has established a network with community-based programs, government agencies and healthcare professionals thus providing a strong infrastructure to support the program. The project coordinator attributes a large part of the success of the project to the "prestige" of the partner coordinator who had contacts beyond the institutional level, thus facilitating the project's ability to make political and economic links for sustainability. Her advice to future project coordinators is to choose institutional linkage partners carefully as altruism alone cannot promote sustainable development (UA: PC/3A3). This project had the advantage of being located in a disciplinw which already had very active and strong community-based curriculum andprograms, therefore it was perhaps easier to facilitate grass-roots activities with their partner. However, it is argued that the major success of this project to facilitate a socially transforrmative model of development was in its focus on the development of structural, sustantive and theoretical indigenization of knowledge.

Although two of the eight projects had a community out-reach component, the majority of ICDS linkages focused on strengthening the institutional capacity of the partner institution through technical, teaching and research skill development of students and faculty. It is evident that the project coordinators interviewed exhibited a strong interest in international development because their involvement in these projects placed extensive demands on their time for which they were not remunerated financially, and these activities were conducted in addition to their regular academic workload. This perspective contradicts the prevailing economic rationality which dominates the policies supported by the Provincial Department of Education and the University's senior administration. It is surprising then that ICDS projects have managed to flourish in a highly competitive environment where the majority of institutional linkages are structured under a corporate model of internationalism. However, the fiscal crisis facing most universities has made the sustainability of these types of projects even more tenuous as faculty, who are under pressure to 'publish or perish' in order to secure tenure, may be more likely to pursue more prestigious and financially lucrative projects which enhance both their own and the universities' national and international reputation.

5.4 The Impact of Change: Conclusions

The critical analysis of the University of Alberta' role in international development reveals five major economic and political factors which are influencing it to adopt a corporate model of internationalization. The outcome is that these trends are coopting its international development role to focus on economic growth. The global transition to information-based economies has enlarged universities' roles beyond their wildest dreams while at the same time presenting critical challenges to their traditional academic mandates. The University of Alberta has responded overwhelmingly to the internal and external demands for expanded scientific and technological research and development, establishing a significant number of partnerships with the private business sector. Some Faculty members are leery of this trend, arguing that "We're becoming too parochical in our outlook which, to my mind, is not the right way to go. The focus shouldn't be driven by economic factors." (UA: PC 1/A2, 1992).

Internal and external fiscal restraints fostered even greater support for these initiatives and the adoption of corporate and liberal models of internationalization which attempt to pass themselves off as development initiatives. Without a more integrated approach to education and development through infrastructural changes and the establishment of community networks guided by socially transformative models of development, ICDS projects will continue to be limited in their ability to address the roots causes of underdevelopment. However, despite the impassioned efforts of a small but determined group of students, professors non-academic staff, and community members, the University has remained resistant to the establishment of a development policy framework at the institutional level. The senior administration of the University are however, undertaking aggressive strategies to internationalize the institution. There are those who feel that a sense of isolation from CIDA has created part of this problem. They argue that:

> CIDA hasn't developed the same sense of partnership with the Canadian universities that it asks us to develop with our partners abroad. And I think there is something quite sound in the partnerships that it asks us to develop in those partnerships abroad. I think that we need to be getting into the same kind of relationship.
> (Allen, Feb. 4,1992 International Week address)

> CIDA is not sympathetic but WUSC was a better use of my time. Less than three months is too short to analyse any situation. We need some sort of scheme where we could go for a whole term instead of floating in and floating out.
> (UA: PC/2)

This relationship became even more strained after the announcement of CIDA and ICDS policy changes and re-structuring. The frustration and disillusionment is evident in the statement made by a faculty member who stated that:

> Sometimes I think we should just scrap all these institutional linkages and put them [the money] into scholarships so our students could go there and their students could come here. it's not so important that one of us fly to Thailand for three weeks. It's better is their students came here to study for three years. Our current President and V.P are certainly interested in this.
> (UA: A1. 1992)

However, this strategy overlooks the inherent weaknesses in the scholarship program which lacks a transformative component in its approach to development and overlooks the inherent benefits of facilitating more productive educational experiences in the host county's institutions. The future of the University of Alberta's ICDS linkages in the Third World appears tenuous as it seems some faculty members are becoming increasingly disenchanted with the bureaucratic structure of CIDA linkages. However, it should be acknowledged that CIDA has little more political leverage than universities in the area of foreign policy-making, as they too are being pressured by the global economic and political forces to align their policies with the increasingly aggressive foreign aid policies of EAITC. The university and the aid agency have become mired down in their "responsive" development role which is being shaped by the growing internationalization movement. The question is whether they are able to generate sufficient critical dialogue in the academic and local communities to change the course of their future.

CHAPTER SIX

6.O Economic and Political Sources of Change in British Columbia

Located between the Rocky mountains on the east, the Pacific Ocean on the west, and the Yukon and Alaska on the north, the province of British Columbia covers a total land area of 929,730 square kilometres. It is bordered by 17,856 square kilometres of coastline and is composed of 633,00 square kilometres of forested land. With the exception of the Great Plains region,.the remainder of the land is mainly mountainous regions with the exception of the northeast area. Therefore, forestry, fishing, mining and agriculture are its principal industries and tourism is the second largest industry.

The total GDP in 1988 of $67.0 billion provided the province one of the highest per capita incomes in Canada. However, by 1989, the province had an accumulated deficit of $1.017 billion (Columbus,1992: 627; 819-820). Like Alberta, the total provincial public debt, as a percentage of the GDP, is one of the lowest in all provinces, thus giving it greater flexibility in borrowing abroad. However, one of the strategies the provincial government has chosen to address this problem is to implement a very aggressive program through the Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology to enhance its competitveness in scientific and technological innovation and expand the provinces' markets for international trade by expanding internationalizing the universities and colleges and expanding their role in R & D.

The discussion to restore wheat shipments to Russia is particularly significant to this discussion because of the presence of the summit meetings between Prime Minister Mulroney, President Clinton and Russian President Yeltsin on the UBC campus. This created an opportunity for academic discourse on Canadian foreign aid policies, however, political activism in response to the Summit was somewhat subdued by government intervention which restricted protest to designated demonstration areas set aside for groups such as the Ad Hoc Coalition which denounced the summit and "crimes of the New World Order" (Toronto Globe & Mail, April 2, 1993). The NAFTA discussions are also significant in the economic future of the province which relies heavily on access to American markets for the sale of lumber.

The youthful, well-educated, and culturally diverse population of the province is a potentially lucrative human resource base from which to market Canadian expertise in the global economy. In 1986, 3,185,900 people, or 76 per cent of the population lived in urban settings, and of this group, 1,602,502 people live in the city of Vancouver, where the University of British Columbia is located. Of the total population in 1991, 415,575 people or 25.9 per cent of the city's population was under the age of thirty-five. The number of people attending post-secondary educational institutions in 1989-90 was 66,400 or 47.9 per cent of the provincial population. Vancouver also has a Chinese community, second only in size to Chinatown in San Francisco, USA.(Columbus,1992: 820; 826) and may be a factor in the high enrollment of Asian students at the University of British Columbia (see Table 4). Given the province's geographic location, its import and export patterns, the cultural diversity and high percentage of the relatively youthful population it is not surprising that there is such a strong interest in internationalizing the University of British Columbia.

6.1 The Direction of Change: UBC Academic and Development Missions

The constitution of the University of British Columbia currently operates under the authority the 1974 University Act of British Columbia (R.S.B.C.,1979: c419). The University of British Columbia Calendar indicates that the establishment and constitution of the university is guided by provincial government regulations which specify that:

> Each university shall so far as and to the full extent which its resources from time to time permit:
>
> a) establish and maintain colleges, schools institutes, faculties, chairs, and courses of instruction
> b) provide instruction in all branches of knowledge,
> c) establish facilities for the pursuit of original research in all branches of knowledge
> d) establish fellowships scholarships, bursaries, prizes, rewards and pecuniary and other aids to facilitate or encourage proficiency in the subjects taught in the university and original research in all branches of knowledge
> e) provide a program of continuing education in all academic and cultural fields throughout the Province and,
> f) generally promote and carry on the work of a university in all its branches, through the co-operative effort of the board, senate, and other constituent parts of the university."
>
> **"Each university shall be non-sectarian and non-political in principle"**
> (UBC, 1992-3: 19)

The statement of the University's "non-political" role in education sharply contrasts the Ministry of Advanced Education's aggressive policies to internationalize higher education in the province, and the University's diverse and highly active involvement in institution-building, HRD, and R & D with Third World and the Pacific Rim with its education and business partners. This statement reflects the recurrent myth that is often supported by certain educators, professionals and politicians who support the assumption that education can be apolitical in both theory and practice. This dangerously myopic vision is a significant factor in the lack of critical dialogue surrounding educational and development policies and in the predominance of instrumentalist notions of higher education.

The focus of the province's educational policies on international development are clearly human capital and modernization strategies strategically designed to spur economic development in British Columbia. The Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology is quite bold in its support of modernization objectives. It describes its mission of International Education at the post-secondary level as:

> the effective delivery of educational and training services... to enhance the academic, cultural, and economic links between B.C. and the world community and in particular with the Asia Pacific nations.
> (MAETT, 1990: 1)

Since Asia and in particular, Japan and China are Canada's second highest foreign trade partners, accounting for 14.4 per cent of the country's imports and and 10.2 per cent of its exports (Columbus, 1992: 638), this mission statement provides a particularly viable political strategy for expanding economic links in the pacific Rim. The Ministry states that its rationale for expanding higher education's international activities is to prepare British Columbians to live and work cooperatively in the both the multicultural society of Canada and in the context of an increasingly interdependent global environment. Specifically, it identifies "...the educational system at all levels and in all disciplines...as being...partially responsible...for achieving these goals", and argues that at the post-secondary level, they "...must continue taking steps to 'internationalize' the education system by"... curriculum enhancement... anticipating increased enrollment in areas of foreign languages and international study..."and"..strengthen[ing] institutional links with foreign countries, particularly those in the Asia Pacific region." (MAETT,1992: 2;3;14). Educational policies such as those outlined by MAETT are quite common in industrialized nations, and are largely accountable for the perception that internationalization and development are synonymous, in spite the dismal history of four development decades which prove otherwise (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990; Alberta Advanced Education,1992).

Under the leadership of MAETT, a number of the province's post-secondary institutions have re-defined their community service mandate to encompass a "global" or 'international' perspective, again based on the assumption that the two concepts are synonymous. The growth of international partnership activities in this region now accounts for 86 per cent of all active research and development contracts conducted in British Columbia in 1989. CIDA funded 84 per cent of these contracts which were held by educational institutions throughout the province, but more significantly, approximately 48 per cent of these funds were distributed to the universities rather than the colleges and institutes(MAETT,1992: 8-10).

Under the rubric of international and development "partnerships", MAETT has facilitated the further corporatization of the University's research and community service functions. The Ministry identifies the "Four Cornerstones of Future International Education Programs", achieved in partnership with B.C. post-secondary educational institutions as:

- greater internationalization of B.C. students and faculty and curriculum
- enhanced strategically focussed international project activity
- more targeted institutional co-operation abroad
- selective international student enrollment
  (MA.ETT,1992: 11)

To facilitate the achievement of the Department's internationalization objectives, it has established six key initiatives:

- 38% of the program budget has been alerted to the British Columbia Asia Pacific Students and Scholars' Awards;
- 22% for international marketing of the B.C. Post-Secondary System, and
- an additional 13% to the B.C. Center for International Education which was established in September,1990 for the coordination of international education marketing and development of an expanded information base;
- 7% for project development
- 7% for curriculum development
- 12% for other internationalization activities
  (MAETT,1992: 4)

The identification of the Asia Pacific region as a focal point for the development of international educational partnerships and the plan for "selective" international student enrollment, are not only contradictory to the liberal-democratic paradigm informing the Ministry's policies, these strategies are also reflective of the economic determinism and strong structural-functionalist educational perspective which drives the corporate model of internationalization. In this context, both MAETT and the province's post-secondary educational institutions thus function as agencies for the selection and allocation of human resources in Canada and abroad. It is also likely that the Ministry's strategy in "attracting the best and brightest students" by offering scholarships and awards, it will magnify the problem of 'brain-drain' from countries which cannot offer comparable economic advantages. The discussion in Chapters Four and Five have already illustrated the strategic effort of government and business to tap international students as a source of cheap research labor in the Sciences and technology.

MAETT has adopted an aggressive stance in internationalization, by expanding its own administrative functions to encompass the role of "international education" brokerage for marketing the HRD capacity of its post-secondary institutions. This is very likely a strategic effort on the part of the provincial government to facilitate the achievement of its economic goals, by reclaiming its control from national organizations such as CIDA, ICDS, AUCC and CBIE over the development and use of its human and physical resources. Although it is difficult to verify, this strategy may also be a reaction to increasing federal government intervention in higher education and the disproportionate number of lucrative development funds for bilateral aid projects which CIDA gives to Quebec.

Donald Simpson in his book, Entrepreneurs in Education: Canada's Response to the International Human Resource Development Challenge has documented this growing government support for marketing universities' HRD capacities globally, through corporate models of university internationalization. He indicates that the government's message to Canadian universities is:

> ...unless they are prepared to consider new approaches to program development, financing and organizational structures, developing countries' looking for Canadian assistance and aid agencies requiring Canadian capacity to deliver their programs will be faced with a resource problem. [and]... Canadian institutions will be at a disadvantage in responding to requests from [countries requesting multi-faceted training programs in Western technology] unless they understand the strategic importance and give some thought as to how international HRD fits in with their own institutional interests or with Canadian national strategic interests.
> (Simpson,.1989: iii; 11)

Many critics of the internationalization movement argue that the commodification of higher education's knowledge and skills by the federal government and the Department of Regional and Industrial Innovation (DRII) which have identified knowledge and information as "products" is a strategic move towards shaping a new relationship between the university and production through the "service" university or corporate model of internationalization (Simpson,1989: 72; Newson and Buchbinder,1988).

Newson and Buchbinder argue that:

> By tying the university's research agenda to economic and technological demands through funding and contractual agreements, the academic

> workers become integrated into the social relations of production because of a desire to market their labour in order to subsist. [Thus] the new role of the university makes this role explicit for a segment of the academic work-force, which increasingly is commodifying its relationship with capital."
> (ibid: 72)

When examined on a global scale, it is understandable then why the GATT discussions have generated much heated debate over the issue of trade in relation to the ownership of intellectual property. The trend for the increasing commodification of knowledge and skills is particularly evident in the context of CIDA's education and development programs when delivered through ICDS linkage projects. The following micro-analysis of the functions of education within institutional linkage projects reveals how universities' perception their academic role in the production, preservation and distribution of knowledge can reproduce this process and limit sustainable development.

UBC has taken a strong leadership role in the field of research and development. The University administration's expectation is that faculty, students and service units will work cooperatively "to contribute to the development of international education through teaching, research and service". The Statement of Principle, UBC development mission statement indicates that :

> 1. Establishing international education as a priority at UBC is currently on the university senate's academic agenda so that "collectively, the university community's participation will give UBC an international presence and reputation in teaching, research and service through strengthened international linkages and networks.
> 2. It will prepare UBC graduates to function personally and professionally in an interdependent world, and will assist the university international agriculture, engineering, science and technology.
> 3. It will direct resources to address some of the critical development issues articulated in the Brundtland Commission's Report, Our Common Future. In particular, the university has mandated that university curriculum include International Studies, area studies, foreign languages, Non-Western Cultural Studies and academic support for interdisciplinary studies.
> (AUCC, 1991: 1 9)

The two statements of principle support a notion of interdependence which is illustrative of a liberal-technocratic model of internationalization. From this perspective, the University is motivated to become involved in internationalization activities for altruistic and material reasons. This paradigm makes the University more vulnerable to the corporate initiatives of MAETT. Critical analysis of the two organizations' documents reveal a number of complementary policies and practices which strongly favour a corporate model of internationalization.

UBC's mission to advance knowledge on a national and global scale is clearly evident in the magnitude of its research and development institutes and Centers. However, the strong influence of government and the business sector is also reflected in the increasing coporatization of its delivery system. More than 60 per cent of all research conducted in the province, and 80 per cent of all university research takes place on the UBC campus. UBC faculty members are recipients of more than $90 million annually in research grants and contracts obtained mainly through competition outside the province. With cutbacks in government expenditures to higher education, the University has adopted a more of a market-oriented approach to internationalization and development in order to promote economic efficacy by "producing better matches between demand and supply," to "achieve better value for money [by promoting] the wider purposes of higher education." (Howarth,1991: 13; MAETT, 1992; UBC A/1)

The University of British Columbia's "World of Opportunity Campaign" which was launched in 1989 and its extensive involvement in the federal government's Networks of Centres of Excellence Program clearly illustrates the aggressive approach with which it has adopted the market-oriented model of education. To date, the World of Opportunity Campaign has raised over $200 million from the private sector and government donations for the provision of facilities, equipment, scholarships and endowed chairs, and the university has won over $34 million in NCE funding, more than any other university "for research..., and is judged to be crucial to Canada's future economic and social well-being." (University of British Columbia, 1992)

The Centres of Excellence initiative is a $50 million CIDA-funded program which provides support to ten Centers in Canadian universities. The key objectives of the program are to raise public awareness by engaging the broader academic community, students and the general public and mobilizing Canadian expertise in specialized fields of study and research. (CIDA,1991: 22)

The rationale underlying this strategy is to create a system which provides more focussed delivery of educational services by allowing institutions to tap their institutional strengths to meet the specialized development needs of specific groups in the global community, unlike ICDS development linkages which are divergent in disciplines and regions (CIDA,1992; UBC: A1, UBC: PC2,1992). The presence of these Centres on Canadian university campuses has stimulated a broader interpretation of the traditional roles of teaching, research and community service.

UBC's four federally-funded Centres of Excellence are designated as national centres of research. Three of the centres focus on research in bacterial diseases, protein engineering and the genetic basis of disease, while the fourth centre focuses on studies of international development in relation to Human Settlements. (University of British Columbia,1992)

The wide range of social, economic, environmental and political issues being explored on a national and international level through research conducted at UBC, the political role which the institution plays in facilitating certain patterns of social and economic change, (despite its apolitical mission statement), is illustrated in the list below:

Institute of International Relations
Institute of Asian Research
Centre for Human Settlements
Centre for International Business Studies
Institute for Sustainable Development Research
Institute of Health Promotion Research
Centre for Applied Ethics
Ocean Studies Council
Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research
(UBC Calendar, 1991-1992)

The list is also reflective of CIDA's development priorities of HRD, institution-building, human rights and sustainable development. Education delivered through institutional organizations such as these, which focus on these critical development issues, can hardly be construed as "apolitical." However, the presence of these centres on campus has the potential to provide a very fertile academic teaching and learning environment for Canadian and international faculty and students. Unfortunately, this study was unable to determine what type of knowledge was being advanced through these initiatives nor the degree to which research within these facilities are integrated into the regular academic curriculum through teaching activities on campus. Therefore insights into the university's link to development through these centres was limited. Clearly however, the University of British Columbia would be an ideal location for conducting further social science research on the impact of research experiences on Canadian and international student graduation and employment patterns, and their attitudes towards economic and social development.

The university is also linked with a number of satellite research organizations which have located their organizations on campus "but operate independently of the university itself" (UBC, 1991). The Agriculture Canada Research Station, B.C. Research, Biomedical Research Center, Forintek Canada Corporation (forest products research), Pulp and Paper Center, Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada are all located on the UBC campus. As well, the university is linked with four other universities as part of the TRIUMF, and the Bamfield Marine Station on Vancouver Island. This is a major teaching and research centre operated by UBC for the study of marine biology. These collaborative R & D initiatives have been highly successful in building the body of scientific and technological knowledge and skills on a national and international level. Again, however, it was not possible within the time constraints of this study, to ascertain whether these research activities are linked to environmental issues in the Third World. however, it is an important question which needs to be addressed. Another question which needs to be asked at this point is why more collaborative R &D initiatives are not pursued in the Social Sciences specifically in relation to development issues. This strategy would at the very least, bring together diverse groups which could generate critical dialogue on key issues. Two divergent viewpoints offered by UBC faculty attribute this disparity in research to economic and professional factors:

> The nature of universities is to promote individual research [in the Education Faculty] we don't have a team... Now it has to become a team in order to maintain it viability, but I can't see that happen. Single-author papers count. Joint author papers don't. It's the same for funding... there are no incentives for collaborative efforts in educational research.
> (UBC: PC3)

> You're over-emphasizing the importance of these [ICDS] projects to the intellectual context in which the researcher works. The more powerful cutting-edge of the disciplines is not in the Third World, because they can't get the resources to keep up with the changes.
> (UBC: PC/A1

Although they present divergent perspectives of development research, both Faculty members attribute the problem to fiscal restraints and professional and competition. This point was reinforced by another Project coordinator and an international student who gave insightful alternate perspectives to the problem of research in Third World universities:

> Thai teachers have limited time to publish due to the pressures of teaching and poor pay. Some have a second and a third job.(UBC: PC/2)

> I would like to do more research but funds are limited so I'll end up teaching.(UBC IS/1)

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to explore the nature of individual research activities conducted through these institutes and Centres, the findings give a significant indication of the scope of the university's role in the internationalization movement and international development. Six of the fourteen centres are focused specifically on development issues and illustrate UBC's expanding leadership role research on a national and international scale. What this study did not reveal was the type of knowledge generated and the manner in which it was disseminated is among business, industry and academia on local, national or international levels. Therefore it is difficult to determine the degree to which UBC's research function has been directed by the interests of the private business sector and the government.

Like all major universities, faculty tenure at UBC is based largely on the publication of research, however as in the case of all Canadian universities, funds for conducting pure research especially in the fields of Social Sciences and Humanities are becoming more scarce due to government cutbacks and the increasing demand for applied research. Based on the UBC University-Industry Liaison document, it is evident that applied research on campus plays a dominant role in the advancement of knowledge (UBC,1992). However, further research is needed to examine the impact corporate-university links have on the nature of research and and the dissemination of findings particularly in the field of Biotechnology, and especially as it relates to the promotion of educational and social development in the Third World.

6.2 Transforming Theory Into Practice

Examination of the different types of institutional linkage programs conducted by various faculties and departments of the University of British Columbia offers greater insights into the nature of the university's role in international development by comparing and contrasting the concepts of internationalization and development within institutional practices in institutional linkages.

At present, the University of British Columbia is involved in 140 international linkages and cooperative agreements with 41 countries around the world. The planning and development of these linkages are guided by the University's International Liaison Office which consults with faculty on international training projects and facilitates arrangements for international visitors, (UBC,1992: 2) and which has set out specific recommendations for developing effective educational linkages (see Appendix IV). The regional distribution of these linkages and agreements substantiate the University's strong Pacific Rim focus. The majority of the linkages are located in Southeast Asian middle-income countries (85 links or 60.7% of the total linkages). The highest number of linkage projects are located in China and Japan, and the greatest number of international students studying at UBC originate from this region. This has been a trend for the past five years. Between 1987-1992, 1321 Chinese international students, studied at UBC, and the dominance of Asian student enrollment is likely due to two key factors: one- the influence of EAITC foreign trade policies and the international student scholarship and linkage incentives offered by MAETT. The enrollment of international students from Third World countries is critically under-represented as is the case in the majority of Canadian universities. While the regional distribution of their representation is more diverse than most universities (5 African countries are represented) in reality, these students represent only 0.6 per cent of the total student population. The factors for this disparity are similar to those outlined in Chapter Five. With the University's strong emphasis on the Pacific Rim, one would expect a larger enrollment of Japanese students. However, the current figures of enrollment for Japanese students may be deceptive in this context because they do not account for the large number of part-time students who attend short-term intensive programs at UBC throughout the year. And many of the educational programs offered to Japanese international students fall into this category. The strategic focus in the Pacific Rim however, is clearly substantiated when enrollment of students from Japan are combined with those from Malaysia, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan Korea and Indonesia (902 or 44% of the total international student enrollment).

The fact that the majority of international linkage projects involve either industrialized or newly industrialized countries (NIC's) illustrate the university's liberal model of internationalization in which educational and development linkages are fostered for the purpose of mutual economic and social benefit. This development strategy is supported through UBC's International Liaison Office which identifies its mandate "as a broad focus of internationalization with all countries of the world". However, an ILO representative elaborated on this mandate by indicating that "universities are not a development agency; the university has a teaching and research perspective, however, they can be used for a national agenda for mutual benefit and Canada's interest." (UBC/A1). Mutual benefit from these internationalization activities is assured by the University's highly selective process for developing institutional linkages; only those institutions who are accredited or "officially" recognized are chosen for partnerships or linked through Memorandums of Understanding (University of British Columbia, 1992)

The recommendations in this document reiterate the need for mutual collaboration in terms of human, financial and institutional resources for mutual benefits. The benefits are expected to contribute to the academic and international development mission of both universities and facilitate long-term commitment of the institution's administrative leaders. The strong Pacific Rim influence is clearly illustrated in two Canadian linkage agreements which rely heavily on support from the Ford and Maxwell Bates Foundations to promote the Pacific Rim Studies programs in Canada. International partnerships are also promoted through collaborative International Conferences in Special Education and Global

Partnerships funded by CIDA and the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education (University of British Columbia, 1992)

Of the 30 linkage projects in the Third World, 19 are funded by CIDA and 17 are funded by IDRC (University of British Columbia, 1992). The majority of the projects come under the administrative office of the Vice President Academic, and the programs are concentrated in Continuing Education. This would appear to support CIDA initiatives for universal education. The World Bank funded an Educational Administration program in Indonesia and bilateral linkages with Indonesia (2 Masters' Teacher Training Programs in Educational Administration), Kenya (3 Educational Training Programs), and Japan (1 Biological Environmental Studies program). These programs illustrate UBC's corporate strategy for pursuing lucrative, large scale, long-term institutional development and linkage programs. In addition, of the 140 projects currently in operation, 30 are funded by IDRC which illustrate the University's strong commitment to R & D pursuits.

The fact that Africa holds the lowest number of linkages and agreements with UBC may be attributed to the University's selective application process. Critical analysis of UBC documents indicate that the University has a developed corporate strategy for involvement in international linkages and the criteria for its involved is evident in the regional distribution of its linkages. The "overriding caveat to [the development of institutional partnerships abroad] is the accreditation or official recognition of the chosen institution" which is obtained through the country's education ministry or from the consulate in Canada (University of British Columbia, 1990:3). This document is adapted from the American Council on Education and reflects a strong bias for corporate and liberal models of internationalization. However, the type of ICDS projects conducted at the University of British Columbia sharply contrast the geographic distribution and development priorities of the majority of international linkages in operation on campus.

6.3 UBC Participation in ICDS Projects

However, the direction which ICDS institutional linkage projects sponsored by UBC Faculty and Departments is not as overly guided by economic trade interests as many of the other projects. ICDS projects at UBC are diverse both in their geographic distribution and in their individual development philosophies and practices, as each project tends to be reflective of each project partner's have education and development ideologies and practices in relation to the university's mandates of teaching, research and community service. The following is a description of the ICDS (non-scholarship) projects sponsored by various departments in the University of British Columbia, as of July 1990:

1 MATHEMATICS EDUCATION CENTRE PROJECT, UNIVERISIDAD CATOLICA MADRE y MAESTRA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. (ICDS) $734,000
The goal of this project linking the University of British Columbia and the Universidad Catolica Madre y Maestra is to establish a Latin American centre for research and development in mathematics education at the host institution.
CONTACT: Dean, Applied Sciences, UBC

2. CIVIL WORKS MAINTENANCE ENGINEERING PROJECT, UNIVERSIDAD de PERU (UP)
(CIDA/ICDS) $287,000 (UBC) $118,000 (UP) $154,000
The purpose of this project with the University of British Columbia is to assist in the development of northern Peru by upgrading the course materials on civil works maintenance at the Universidad de Peru.
CONTACT: Dean, Applied Sciences, UBC

3. LOW COST WATER TREATMENT PROJECT, UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL del ALTIPLANO, PERU
(ICDS) $158,000
The goal of this project between the University of British Columbia and the Universidad Nacional del Altiplano is to develop a fully functional waste water stabilization lagoon along the Lake Titicaca shoreline.
CONTACT: Dean, Applied Sciences, UBC

4. HEALTH PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION PROJECT, UNIVERSITY OF WEST INDIES, JAMAICA
(ICDS) $ 339,000
The goal of this project is to improve the educational effectiveness of health profession instructors and instructional materials at the University of West Indies and other health workers in the region through linkage with the University of British Columbia.
CONTACT: Co-ordinator, Health Sciences, UBC

5. CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS, UNIVERSIDAD DE PIURA, PERU
(CIDA:ICDS) $100,000, (UBC) $14,000 (DCI) $ (figure unavailable)
Discipline: Building Science & Architecture
CONTACT: Dean, Applied Science, UBC

6. PEOPLES' PARTICIPATION IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT
THAMMASAT UNIVERSITY- (ICDS) $unavailable,(CIDA) $25,000, UBC $18,000 (Thammasat University). $19,600
The focus of the project is on the institutional development of the rural district councils, (Tambon Councils) to facilitate grassroots participation in rural development.
CONTACT: Department. of Community & Regional Planning, UBC

7. ENGINEERING MANPOWER TRAINING FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE
(ICDS) $278,547;(UBC) $55,200,(DCI) $27,840
Discipline: Engineering & Technology
Faculty/Dept: Applied Science, Civil Engineering
CONTACT: Dean, Applied Science, UBC

8. PETRO-ENGINEERING EXPERTISE,CHULALONG UNIVERSITY, THAILAND
(CIDA:ICDS) $100,000 , (UBC)$18,000, (DCI) $ unavailable
Discipline: Energy
CONTACT: Dean, Applied Science, UBC

9. DEVELOPMENT OF PST & CLS: INTERCOUNTRY CENTRE FOR ORAL HEALTH THAILAND
(CIDA:ICDS) $ 6,400, (UBC) $7,000, (WHO) $19,600
Discipline: Health Sciences Department: Dentistry
CONTACT: Health Sciences, UBC

10. EXECUTIVE MANAGEMENT TRAINING, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATION, INDIA
(CIDA:ICDS) $34,000, (Canadian Universities) $ 26,000
Discipline: Education
CONTACT: Faculty of Education, UBC

*An Architectural Exchange Program was also conducted by the School of Architecture, India and UBC but has not been included in the case study because it does not fit the institutional linkage definition of the study.
(CIDA.1991,:79-89; University of British Columbia, 1992)

Initiation of the projects came from a variety of sources ranging from informal contacts between professors made during professional conferences or seminars, to requests for development assistance made through AUCC or CIDA. It is important to note that unlike the University of Alberta, whose ICDS projects are mainly located in the Faculty of Education, of the nine ICDS projects in operation at UBC, five are located in the Faculty of Applied Sciences. Of these five projects, three are located in Peru where the UBC project coordinator has had extensive professional and experience thus demonstrating how personal and professional links rather than institutional partnerships are more often the catalyst for ICDS projects.

One UBC project in particular reflected a positive impact of international students' educational experiences in Canadian institutions. What is unique about the process by which UBC:PC/1 Project was initiated was its conception by a former UBC Graduate student from a developing country. Upon return to her country of origin, the student created a proposal for the development of a Professional training facility at her home university recommending the use of on-site training provided by UBC Faculty members. The proposal was sent to her former UBC professor who in turn submitted it for consideration under CIDA's ICDS program.It is important to note at this point in the discussion that under the current bureaucratic ICDS structure, submission of projects to EIP is restricted to the Canadian partners (EIP,1989,1992) thus clearly illustrating the inequities of these so-called partnerships. However, not all program coordinators and participants support this approach to ICDS project development for a diverse variety of reasons. UBC P/1 indicated that the contradictory perceptions of education and development needs between the student who initiated the project and "the more powerful people within the system" created numerous and ongoing problems which significantly hindered the implementation of the project. On the other hand, UA:PC 1/A2 and other critics argued that personal motives of individuals can bias judgements can lead to misguidance of projects when they are initiated in this manner. He stated that:

> ... international students return home from Canada and establish a link with the home institution which is the wrong motive for a development project. I don't think any university should get into international development in that way.(UA: PC1/A2)

However, the rationale behind this argument was not given during the interview. What is often not acknowledged when discussing these projects, is the reticence of a significant number of Canadian and Third World Faculties to involve their students in any stage of the development, implementation or evaluation of ICDS projects. Under these circumstances, the "multiplier effect" through HRD becomes very limited and the sustainability of development is jeopardized when key members of the project are not involved in the critical dialogue and decision-making process. The limited role of students in international linkage programs is evidenced in the sharp contrast between the number of linkages and the enrollment of students from these countries (Table 9 UBC). The students studying in Canadian universities under the ICDS project represent a miniscule proportion of the total international student population.

Of the five ICDS projects examined at UBC, only two projects directly provided opportunities for international students or Canadian students to involved in the projects' delivery. And this top-down approach to development is further illustrated in the lack of opportunities for participation in ICDS projects by Canadian students. Three of the four project coordinators interviewed acknowledged that Canadian and international students play only a small role in ICDS project design, implementation and evaluation. Their responses clearly demonstrate the limited correspondance between Third World development objectives and international students' education and research agendas:

> Canadian students visited the Dominican Republic, but their thesis work was not connected specifically to the project.
> (UBC: PC/3)

> ... a few [LDC] grad students were attached to the department program, but not to work on the ICDS project. (UBC: PC2)

> ... international students don't have the influence in the Third World to generate projects. (UBC: A/1)

It is unclear why some Faculty members are sceptical of students' ability to make a significant contribution to the projects since these people represent the future workforce and citizenry who will be expected to play a leadership role in the development process. This shortsightedness may be a factor of both partner universities' historical preference for functionalist and meritocratic educational practices. However, these attitudes overlook the value of informal and nonformal field experiences, thus seriously limiting the impact of HRD strategies for promoting institutional reforms.

The rationale for focusing the administration and implementation of ICDS projects at a Faculty level may also be attributed to the financial and time limitations of ICDS projects, and the heirarchical and highly bureaucratic nature of univeristies. As well, there are serious weaknesses in the theoretical assumptions of the multiplier effect which guide development strategies such as institution-building, and HRD. Forty years of development history have clearly illustrated the limitations of the 'trickle-down' theory of modernization in enhancing the quality of life for the majority of the population, yet universities continue to take an ahistorical approach to development. While both CIDA and Canadian universities cite participation in international development as a positive educative experience for both Canadian and international students, the majority of ICDS projects did not directly involve students in the design, implementation or evaluation of the project thus clearly relegate students to the role of passive observers in the development process.[1] It should not surprising then, when these students show more interest in pursuing personal career goals rather than involvement in development.

While it is difficult to substantiate whether the limitation of student participation is a reflection of individual, departmental, institutional or CIDA perceptions of the goals of ICDS linkages, the 1992 CIDA/EIP Evaluation Report argues that since the EIP program is a "responsive" program which does not direct project funds towards any particular sector, the structure and delivery of the project may be reflective of the developing countries' perception of their needs or the Canadian university faculty or institution's interest in international development, or a combination of both factors. (CIDA/EIP,1992: 15). The latter argument appears to be a more logical interpretation of the situation as the choice to involve local and international students rests ultimately with the individual ICDS partners.

The potential benefit of involvement of graduate students in ICDS projects however, has been clearly demonstrated by some UBC project coordinators. The UBC: PC4/A2 and UBC: PC1 projects illustrate more cooperative and integrated approaches to development which use a combination of formal, nonformal and informal educational experiences in rural and community settings to link Canadian and Third World Faculty, students, professionals and community members in HRD and institution-building strategies. In both projects, these projects "fit" well within the development expectations and academic mandates of their partners because the partners worked cooperatively over an extensive period of time designing a variety of relevant educational activities to encompass the needs and interests of both partners' faculty, students and their respective local communities. It is clear that the extensive time investment in the design stage of the project provided long-term gains to the project delivery.

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[1] A number of ICDS projects are designed to bring international students to Canadian campuses for the purposes of study for Graduate or post-graduate degrees,however, with the exception of UBC's Peru project, the majority of students follow the Canadian curriculum,and as a result, one of the major criticisms of ICDS projects by international students is the limited relevance of Canadian education to their countries' development needs.While 11 of the 17 partners in Canadian university linkage projects conducted during 1991 indicated that the strong academic component contributed to the improvement of curriculum and teaching methods, Third World partners indicated that 12 of the 17 the projects had no impact or a negligible impact on poverty alleviation, 10 of the 17 projects had little or no impact on women in development, 13 of the 17 projects had little or no impact on food security and 16 of the 17 projects had little or no impact on energy availability. (CIDA/EIP Evaluation 1992:35)

This collaborative relationship was greatly facilitated by the fact that these two Faculties had already established their own development policies and clearly outlined criteria for their involvement in international linkage programs. The UBC: PC4/A2 project originated from a request from the LDC institution through AUCC for development of laboratory and teacher resources which was initially rejected by the UBC Faculty of Applied Science because of its incompatibility with UBC's academic program. However, through an ongoing process of negotiation between the two institutions, a linkage project was finally developed which was perceived by both partners as educationally and developmentally beneficial to both the universities and their surrounding communities. UBC:PC4/A2 indicated that the format of development projects sponsored through his Faculty are designed to address educational concerns raised by both institutions: He stated that..."traditional engineering programs do not adequately prepare students for engineering practice..." and small firms which are increasingly employing young engineers lack sufficient funds or training capacities to provide students with appropriate skills, therefore a Cooperative Education program is required. In this context, Cooperative Education is defined as "a process of education by means of which a student's academic studies are formally integrated with work experience in cooperative employer organizations...[where] work placements are carefully structured in order to provide the student with the desired experience (UBC: PC1/A2). Institutional support for this socially transformative model of internationalization are demonstrated in the willingness of the Faculty administration to waive academic prerequisites for Third World students in this project in order to give them immediate access to university facilities and educational programs which the international students and their faculty felt were relevant to their education and development needs. Although the students initially participated without credit in UBC academic programs, many have since returned to the university to pursue a Master's or Ph.D program. UBC: PC4/A2 indicated that these students were much better prepared for academic study as a result of the previous nonformal and informal educational experiences. This project offers some valuable strategies for building successful linkages and should be shared among the university communities involved in linkage programs. The willingness of the program coordinator to share large volumes of written documentation on this and other linkage projects for this study, is also a positive indicator of his commitment to more socially trans formative models of development and to the the potential for building more collaborative development networks among universities in Canada. The infrastructure already exists; these networks could be easily be facilitated through agencies such as AUCC and CBIE and the CUPID AND CUE computer databases. Given the recent decentralization of CIDA, which resulted in the coordination of ICDS program being turned over to AUCC and the participating universities, this type of inter-university cooperation may yet become a reality.

The UBC:PC4/A2 project also attempted to address CIDA's Women in Development objectives by selecting forty-three Canadian and Third World female Engineering students, professors and practicing engineers for direct involvement (UBC P/4:1992). A project evaluation submitted by one of the engineering students from the Third World who participated in the 1987 training program indicated that although language proved to be the greatest barrier to his studies at UBC, the project was "a very important step in my professional and human development." (UBC: IS/2,1992) However, participants in other ICDS projects at UBC found their experience less relevant to their needs:

> I didn't have any idea what to expect at the Master's level. Now I'm more critical... The learning experiences were very broad... the Practicum provided a setting for experience, so you're basically reproducing what you see.(UBC: IS/1, 1992)

However, perhaps the development of the student's critical and reflective thinking skills could be cited as a benefit of these educational experiences in Canada; this raises a number of questions about the role of teaching in ICDS projects. It appears that the function of teaching varies in each project and is largely influenced by the individual institutions' and/or project coordinators' education and development ideologies. Extensive development research has supported the need for the implementation of more relevant models of teaching which go beyond the traditional strategies of lecturing and standardized testing to incorporate nonformal and informal educational strategies which can serve the host countries' development needs (Bacchus,1986; Carnoy and Samoff 1990; Fogel, 1977; Kauffmann et al., 1992). The UBC: PC4/A2, UBC: PC2 and UBC: PC1 projects clearly illustrate a dramatic contrast to the bilateral projects and international links between Canada and the Third World which are directed more by economic and political forces. These two ICDS projects are unique in that they rely more on nonformal and informal educational experiences to facilitate the development process by linking the project with the larger community where development needs are most critical.

This integrated approach to development may be attributed to two factors: first, it is likely that the existence of extensive community networks among their own faculties and departments and the local community has made the academic staff more receptive to collaborative and cooperative learning experiences. Secondly, the previous development experience of two of the three project coordinators who had lived and/or worked in developing countries provided them with greater insights into benefits and weaknesses of education and development programs in the Third World. These two factors were also supported by UA:PC4/A4 at the University of Alberta. Recent CIDA policy recommendations for greater integration of NGI and NGO's development delivery with community-based organizations was supported by three UBC project coordinators who indicated that they share a broader vision of the university's community service mandate (UBC: P/1, UBC: PC2;PC/4/A/2)

It is beyond the scope of this study to evaluate teaching practices of these project coordinators in relation to ICDS projects, therefore it is difficult to assess the degree to which these linkages serve merely to transfer knowledge or to generate production of new knowledge for Third World students. All four project coordinators described their partnerships as highly cooperative and collaborative , however, in two of the projects, the project coordinators indicated the international students studying at UBC followed the standard Canadian curriculum as prescribed by the Faculty or Department. (UBC A/2, A/3, P/1, P/3; 1992)

The increasing commodification of knowledge and skills and the growing commercialization of academic work through technology transfer programs and development linkages have changed the perception of teaching and community service and thus significantly changed the social relations between the university and the community. As a result, the community, once perceived as a recipient of university output [knowledge and students] is now perceived as a donor or market to be tapped.(Slaughter 1990;Wood 1992). This technocratic rationality is evident in the University's Statement of Principle which clearly places UBC Faculty members under under increasing pressure to market their human and physical resources in the global development environment. As a result, the asymmetry of development partnerships is often perpetuated in service-client relationships.

Although the University Calendar indicates that "it shall be non-political in principle," the UBC: PC2 project which focuses on grassroots democratic reform through rural District councils is inherently political. Under this project, UBC faculty worked with the Third World faculty, members of their Parliament and members of the rural communities to facilitate a better understanding of the potential of grassroots organizations to become involved in social action for development. UBC P/2 indicated that although "there was some common intellectual music we responded to... they wanted to learn in an experiential sense what were the constraints on local action, what were the possibilities... they wanted to deepen their knowledge." In this context, the University's development role becomes a very complex socio-political issue which extends far beyond its traditional teaching and community service functions and enters a complex ideological "grey" area that many development policies do not adequately address.

In the context of the fast-paced market-oriented atmosphere of Canadian educational institutions, ICDS projects represent a paradox in relation to UBC's strong corporate model of internationalization that guides other international linkage activities. A widely held perception is that these programs have received minimum attention from the general academic community because ICDS projects do not generate economic profits or enhance the university's international reputation, nor are they relevant to Canadian educational experiences. This perspective is contrasted by the majority of ICDS interviewees who strongly supported a more liberal view of Third World development linkages. The following program coordinators indicated that:

> [ICDS project participants] experience in this project has enriched their contribution to rural development. The most direct connection we made in Thailand was with our approach for community development with Indian bands and rural development in Thailand.
> (UBC: PC2)

> education has a different view of our [development] role; our task is to provide an opportunity for all. That's why I'm in Education and not Economics....I would find it interesting if universities didn't see it [international development] as one of their roles.
> (UBC: PC3)
> UBC tends to focus on the Pacific Rim. My project was strictly development..(UBC: PC1)

These comments demonstrate support for certain elements of both the Liberal and social transformation models of internationalization which are based on the assumption that institutional linkages can be reciprocally beneficial. They are perceived to have the potential to facilitate the development of personal and professional networks which economically and socially enrich the people within the participating institutions and countries, and they increase awareness, understanding and respect for other cultures which is essential for global peace and life in a multicultural society (MAETT, 1992; University of British Columbia,1990; UBC interviews, 1992; Table One). However, transforming theory into practice is difficult. All UBC and UA interviews substantiated the EIP assessment which indicated that the majority of the ICDS program coordinators felt that cooperative design and implementation of the projects were often undermined by CIDA's highly restrictive application process, fiscal restraints, and the physical distance between the partners (EIP,1992: 39. UBC interviews: 1992)

Like other universities involved in the development process, UBC faces the same institutional, economic and political challenges in trying to achieve ODA goals through

ICDS projects. Only two of the four of UBC ICDS projects surveyed addressed CIDA's ODA priority of poverty alleviation, this is largely due to the fact that, like the majority of EIP-funded institutional projects, UBC ICDS projects are located in low to middle-income countries. The geographic distribution of these projects however, was mainly the choice of the Third world partner as in all four projects, the request for assistance initiated within their own institutions and government agencies (UBC:interviews, 1992). Canadian partners however, played a dominant role in the design and delivery of the programs through service-client oriented relationships. Building HRD capacity, physical and institutional infrastructure-building are the dominant focus of the education education and training programs in these projects and is supported by CIDA, as indirect strategies to address poverty. All four projects also attempted to facilitate cooperative development linkages with the host country's urban and rural community organizations. The divergence the projects' development strategies is reflective of the divergent development needs and educational interests within each partner's disciplines and institutions. However it is also reflective of the ongoing debate among development workers over support for modernization or HRD paradigms. What is unique about UBC's ICDS projects is the integration of nonformal and informal education experiences in certain programs.

All respondents felt informal educational experiences made a significant contribution to development but felt that it was difficult to document the qualitative benefits within the current evaluative structure of ICDS projects (A/1, A/2, P/1, P/2, P/3: 1992). While all interviewees perceived that their ICDS project had made a significant contribution to the quality of education in the host institution through staff and curriculum development and institution-building, their perception of the projects' contribution to the Third World country's development was less optimistic. A significant number of project coordinators at UBC and at the University of Alberta raised serious doubts with regard to the ability of ICDS projects to promote sustainable development within the context of institutional and bureaucratic structures. (UBC: PC 1, 2, 3 and 4; U of A: PC: 2, 3 and 4). The four project coordinators also challenged CIDA's development paradigm of liberal-democratic reform:

> CIDA as a catalyst for change is not true...it doesn't see its mandate to develop Canadian universities, but it is changing. CIDA needs to play a more active role in facilitating the university's development of an international focus; it is part of their responsibility.
> (UBC: A/1)

> ...it [the ICDS link] is so dependent on economic forces and the individuals involved. Unless the department or faculty commitment is there, then it will collapse.
> (UBC: PC3)

> ...less formal mechanisms promote change...encourage the powers that be to establish liaison with broad-based groups.
> (UBC: PC1)

> I see globalization as homogenization.Ideally schools need to develop a one-world perspective- understanding of our interrelationships. It's different from globalization....
> A one-world view within the academic community will take time. (UBC: PC2)

The latter comment illustrates the confusion and debate which surrounds discussions of internationalization and globalization. But his description of "a one-world view" parallels elements of the social transformation model of internationalization. Although the ICDS projects illustrate an attempt to address issues such as education, health, citizenship and development of the physical infrastructure of Third World countries, their perspectives and activities are not necessarily representative of the larger institution. The one-world view being promoted though some of the current linkages at UBC support a corporate model of internationalization which has little to do with the development needs in Third World. With the shift in CIDA policies and the economic and technocratic rationalism of Canadian development policies it will be increasingly difficult to sustain ICDS connections. The University was recently awarded a CIDA contract for community development in Vietnam.[2] The direction this project takes over the next five years will being a significant indicator of the University's commitment to a social transformative model of internationalization and development.

6.4 The Impact of Change: Conclusions

In spite of strong internal and external political and economic pressures to align the University development research and projects with foreign trade objectives and corporate interests, ICDS projects at UBC continue to represent a small but determined countermovement at UBC to preserve a more humanitarian element in Third World development projects. At the institutional level, while it is evident that UBC leans strongly towards a corporate of internationalization, with strong emphasis on applied research and development and educational partnerships in the Pacific Rim, the University has also been highly supportive of its ICDS projects. However, given the current economic crisis, and the greater difficulty in obtaining ICDS contracts, it is likely that the faculty will be more inclined to pursue more lucrative and easily accessible linkages in the Pacific Rim as a result of increasing number of university/ industry partnerships. Those individuals currently involved in ICDS linkages will likely find it increasingly difficult to sustain the existing partnerships in spite of their strong commitment to ICDS projects in the Third World.

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[2] Although Canada's official development assistance to Vietnam was suspended in 1979 during the conflict between Vietnamese and Cambodian forces, aid was returned in 1990. Since that time, a study of economic returns to a joint oil and gas project in Vietnam was financed by the Industrial Co-operation Division of CIDA in preparation for the lift of the U.S embargo.As a result of the study, the SNC Group INC. of Montreal has established a partnership with the state-owned Petro Vietnam in a project reportedly worth $300 million. Major multilateral lending institutions such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank are also awaiting the lift of the 18-year trade embargo in order to unleash hundreds of millions of dollars in assistance(Stier, Toronto Globe & Mail;3/3,1993) Both the UBC and the University of Alberta are in the process of establishing CIDA-funded ICDS linkages with educational institutions in Vietnam which focus on education and community development thus illustrating the inherent conflicts between Canadian development policies and practices,but also represent a counterhegemonic influence within Canadian educational institutions.

Although the University has not yet established a formal institutionalized policy on international development, there appears to be a strong support for a corporate model of internationalization. A number of factors have influenced the University to pursue this role in development. The strongest influence appears to be the aggressive educational policies of the British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education Training and Technology whose mandate clearly supports the use of universities to gain and economic competitive advance through scientific and technological research. The University's geographic location in a major center for international trade, a strong research component and high international student enrollment also makes it an attractive location for promoting international networks. This perspective is supported by some members of the senior administration :

> leadership is the key.-a supportive environment and long-term commitment,... building alliances with industry and government creates a fertile educational environment which fosters excellence, innovation and initiatives.
> (UBC: A/1)

> UBC didn't have to adapt or change its program to meet their needs other than removing restrictions and providing them with access to education
> (UBC: PC4/A2)

This leadership is evidenced in the University's aggressive pursuit of alternative sources of funding for internationalizing the institution by seeking out lucrative international R & D contracts, and international linkage programs. As a result of this internationalization movement, the institution is often less reflexive in relation to its international development role. In response to the current fiscal crisis, they have chosen to play a proactive role by building a strong global network with governments, industry and private foundations.which has allowed them to become more selective in their linkage programs. Therefore it is likely that they will continue to expand their corporate role in international development. As for their relationship with CIDA, at the institutional level, it appears to be a tenuous in relation to ICDS projects. The response from one administrator was that:

> CIDA funding has not been a significant factor in the development of UBC and is less likely to be so with the new CIDA policy for ICDS projects...therefore ICDS projects are not likely to be a source of change for internationalizing Canadian universities. Universities are not an international development agency. The university has a teaching and research perspective, however, they can be used for a national agenda-for the mutual benefit and Canada's interest. (UBC: A/1)

Thus, it is clear that the economic forces of internationalization are the prime motivating factor in the University of British Columbia's role in international development. The chances for survival for ICDS projects in this climate seem slim, and this is regrettable because UBC has a wealth of human and physical resources which could make a tremendous contribution to HRD in the Third World. However, as one member indicated, "historically, the projects were independent of the universities-they were started by people with interests in development" (UBC: A/1); it is likely that given the current direction of UBC's development role, ICDS projects will remain in the hands of these people who have been relegated to the economic and political periphery.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 The Implications of Change: Summary and Conclusions

Both the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia were drawn into the development process by national and international political and economic reconstruction forces of the early 1950s. Therefore their early development roles were directed by national and international foreign aid policies which favored modernization and human capital paradigms. To a large extent, their international development roles continue to be guided by the same economic rationalism. However, in the context of the current national and international economic crisis, these roles are increasingly influenced by internal and external economic and political forces which support corporate and liberal models of internationalization often at the expense of development linkages with educational institutions in the Third World. Of the 140 links at the University of British Columbia, only 10 (14%) are ICDS projects, and 60.7% of the total links are located in middle to high income countries in Asia Pacific. The University of Alberta exhibits a similar trend, with only 7 of the 84 links focusing on Third World development issues, and 64.3% of the total number of links located in middle to high income countries in Asia Pacific. International student enrollment for both universities demonstrate a similar pattern to foster international linkages with Canada's major trade partners, as 55.6% of UBC's foreign students and 65.9% of the University of Alberta's foreign students originate from the Asia Pacific region. In both universities, students from the Third World are under-represented. The implication of these enrollment and linkage trends is that the future of ICDS institutional linkages is a tenuous one.

It is evident from the distribution and format of the majority of international linkages being pursued through these institutions that the motivation for participating in international development is more fiscal than philosophical. However, the ICDS projects currently operating at the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia appear to be an exception to this trend. Although ICDS projects are neither lucrative nor are they perceived by the academic community as professionally prestigious; there remains a small but significant group of faculty members who continue to demonstrate support their commitment to the development goals of these projects by through their efforts to sustain current projects and their continued attempts to establish new links in the Third World. However, while the University of Alberta appears to trying building a stronger working relationship with CIDA through ongoing dialogues, their development role remains largely responsive. The University of British Columbia, on the other hand, has adopted a more proactive aggressive stance to internationalization and development, choosing by establishing strategic plans to seek out new sources of funding and support from business and industry at home and abroad. In either case, corporate and liberal models of internationalization continue to inform CIDA policies and university development practices, and given the current shift of aid from the Third World to Eastern Europe, it is likely that these models will be met with increasing support from the university administration whose policies appear to support the philosophy of "the business of development."

However, by focusing on the meritocratic output of ICDS links, and pursuing internationalization activities unreflectively, supporters of the corporate and liberal models of internationalization have not only ignored the increasing co-optation of the university's development role, they have also failed to recognize the significant impact these trends on the traditional roles of teaching, research and community service.

7. 1. Revisiting the Research Question

The study began by asking what role Canadian universities play in international development and how that role relates to their academic mandates and Canadian official development assistance policies. The research explored this question from three perspectives: the source of change, the direction of change and the implications of change for future practices. The major findings of the study were that the source of change in Canadian universities' development role can be attributed to diverse internal and external economic, social and political factors. The development roles of the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia and those of other Canadian institutions have been greatly influenced by national and international economic trends and foreign policies between 1950-1987. The historical legacy of the first three development decades was the dominance of modernization and human capital paradigms in Canadian ODA policies. Both CIDA and Canadian universities were relegated to "responsive" roles which emphasized technology transfer and the development of human capital as the major development strategies. Both the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia began their development in this manner, acting as technical consultants to Third World institutions.

The direction of change which the two universities' development roles have taken can be attributed to four key economic and political factors: the current global and national economic crisis, the shift from industrial-based to information-based economies in Western nations, the global movement to international higher education and the shift in Canada's foreign aid policies. By the late 1980s, the Canadian government was sponsoring development programs such as the "specialized training institutes" to meet the market demands of Third World students' needs for short-term, relevant and flexible programs. Universities and colleges were encouraged by the government to market these programs to make Canada more competitive with Australia, Germany, Japan and the US.. Donald Simpson (1986: 6) argues that "the potential economic benefits to Canadian institutions of obtaining a larger share of this market has crystallized new support for international HRD work from many government, university and business people who had previously shown little concern with the Third World". As a result, there has been a dramatic shift in both universities' role from development assistance to increased aggressive global marketing of their HRD and physical resources.

Reduced educational and development dollars have exacerbated the problem by making UBC, the University of Alberta and most other institutions more vulnerable to internal and external political and economic forces. Increased global competitiveness and demand for fiscal accountability has placed pressures on Canadian universities from national and foreign governments and business to expand their participation in international development through delivery of programs which focus on knowledge-transfer, human resource development and institution-building as a strategy to enhance economic development not only in NICs, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but more strategically, in Canada.

The adoption and expansion of corporate and liberal models of internationalization in the two universities can be attributed to external political and economic pressure from the Canadian government and the private business sector to "capture" universities' research and development powers to promote economic growth and global competitiveness. These models of internationalization are receiving strong support from those Faculty members who perceive this as a viable strategy to sustain the University financially and academically. There are those who feel the pressure to "publish or perish" has forced the academic community to support internationalization, while other Faculty members feel that partnerships with industry and developed countries offer more opportunities for innovative, lucrative and professionally prestigious R & D with Pacific Rim countries. Add to this, the pressure from EAITC to shift aid from the Third World to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, it is clear why there has been such rapid growth in linkages in the Pacific Rim and expanded applied R & D activities at both the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia.

These economic and political pressures for the expansion of the development roles of universities is also evidenced in the growing movement in OECD nations to "internationalize" Canadian education particularly at the post secondary level, which has undermined program delivery to the Third World. However, the direction taken by each institution varied greatly due to provincial economic trends, and was highly dependent on the development philosophies of individual members of the senior administration, faculty members and the local community who were involved in these projects. Therefore the degree of systems integration of corporate and liberal models of internationalization within these institutions may not be as pervasive as it appears to be. This divergence of internationalization perspectives might be catalyst for stimulating critical discourse on development issues if it were not for the sense of urgency which each university faces in order to address its own economic problems.

While CIDA is often the target of criticism for the universities' increasingly technocratic and bureaucratic approaches to international development, in reality it must be acknowledged that they too have been relegated to a responsive role in the process of development. As a crown corporation with limited political decision-making power, they face growing pressure from EAITC to integrate Canadian foreign policies with development initiatives. The current re-structuring of CIDA and the subsequent re-organization of the Conservative government portfolios, has left CIDA even more vulnerable to economic and political influences. If CIDA's power is limited in influencing the direction of Canada development processes, then by definition, the universities have an even more limited role in decision-making with regard to development policy reform.

The implications of these changes in the universities' development roles are twofold. The result has been the professionalization of development (Alatas, 1993); an increasing emphasis has been placed on training Canadians for consultancy positions in international development. The shift in Western economies from industrial to information-based societies, has enhanced the competition for university support to development by placing an increased demand for scientific and technological knowledge through applied research. Those faculty members who support this growing trend see it as an opportunity to stay "on the cutting-edge" of research which otherwise would not likely be possible in light of current educational cutbacks. Therefore through the professionalization of development and the expansion of R&D functions, the role of the market has become and even stronger influence in shaping university teaching and research.

This in turn, has fostered the institutionalization of development in which organizations such as the university serve as agents for the deployment of development (ibid: 325). It is clear that the current direction of change in Canadian universities' education and development roles is largely the product of government and business initiatives to harness the human and physical resources of these institutions in order to promote economic growth. The impact of this economic imperatives has been the increasing corporatization of educational institutions organizational structures and the dominance of a managerial style of education which supports the corporate model of internationalization. However, parallels between the productive functions of business and education should be drawn with caution as higher education is process-oriented therefore measurements of inputs and outputs [i.e. students] has limited relevance (OECD, 1989: 11). This is especially true in the context of Third World development which has witnessed the exponential growth of higher education while the majority of the population remains in trapped poverty. The inability of the labor force to absorb university graduates has resulted in a dramatic increase in the "educated-unemployed" and the "educated-under employed" both in Canada and in the Third World, demonstrate that there are critical limits to the modernization paradigm.

In reality, the international development linkages and ICDS projects conducted by these and other Canadian universities have not made a significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty in the Third World because they rely too heavily on a trickle-down theory of development which has little connection to the existing economic and social community in which it operates. This problem is compounded by educational practices at Third World universities which have traditionally been oriented towards the assimilation of transmission of Western knowledge rather than the creation of new knowledge. This has critically undermined their ability to foster or any type of social transformation. Therefore efforts to institutionalize development in universities have had limited impact on the real issues of development. In addition, the fact cannot be ignored that many Third World universities often operate in hostile social, economic and political environments that are beyond the realm of experience of the majority of Canadians, therefore it is unlikely that these universities serve the same function as Canadian universities. As a result, technology and knowledge transfer continue to be the primary educational mechanisms of development in institutional linkage programs and the search for program relevance is left to the initiatives of individual faculty or students.

In a climate of increased international competitiveness and declining economic resources, a number of critics have raised the issue whether Canadian universities should be involved in development in the Third World when economic issues are so pressing in the Canadian context. At the provincial level, the limited support for development projects in the Third World is compounded by the current debt crisis of the provinces. Historically, the decision-making power for development policies has rested with the federal government and universities have willingly served as mechanisms to achieve modernization while educational policy-making has remained at the provincial jurisdiction. However, the dramatic debts incurred at the provincial level have created a new sense of urgency to stimulate economic growth and have sparked renewed interest of the provincial Ministries of Advanced Education in the internationalization of higher education. Buffer organizations such as the AUCC and CBIE are also increasingly being influenced by government and business interests to play the role of HRD brokers for Canadian and Third World institutions. However, such a role severely limits the potential of their mediative capacity to facilitate critical dialogue on the university's development role. This lack of national coordination of educational policies and development practices have made universities more susceptible to "corporate raids" on university HRD and physical resources as they have limited funding, no development mandate and limited inter-institutional communication. They are therefore unable to mount a united offensive to address the structural inequalities which exist within and outside the educational system. Instead, this fragmentation of the Canadian educational community has perpetuated the support of liberal paradigms which focus on adaptive instead of innovative approaches to development. Those supporting the corporate paradigm have merely created a highly competitive environment in which universities compete for international development dollars

If educators expect to have any impact on international development, it will first require a dramatic conceptual shift in education and development paradigms. Who or what will become the catalyst for this social transformation remains illusive. However, with the recent re-structuring of CIDA and its devolvement of responsibilities for ICDS projects to AUCC and participating universities, the climate for change is potentially fertile. The manner in which universities handle these decisions internally will be a significant factor in determining the quality of relationships which will evolve in the partnership programs. Two issues are apparent. First, it is clear that the traditional model of universities is no longer functional in the context of the current social and economic climate, therefore the time has come for them to critically re-examine their academic roles and responsibilities in light of these dramatic social and economic changes. A recent Economic Council of Canada Report identified the following as factors which undermine educational institutions' ability to coordinate their programs with other institutions to promote positive models of social transformation.

1. under the current institutional framework, decision-making powers lack the capacity and efficiency to build consensus
2. institutions lack a mechanism to include the public, private and NGO sectors in social change processes
3. the lack of a national educational policy limits the potential for a unified approach to social change
4. the lack of international development policies at the institutional level undermines the potential of educational institutions to be catalysts in social change

5. historically, there has been a poor record of cooperation between the public and private sectors because they serve conflicting functions
6. federalism is a major barrier to change.while some critics argue that power should be centralized in order to address global issues, others argue the decentralization allows greater innovation because the nation is neither economically nor socially homogeneous
7. the future role of economics in public policy development and decision-making is limited because of its inability to address issues of the environment and sustainable social development
(EEC, 1992: 37)

Although these references were made in a national context, they are relevant to the coordination of universities' international development linkages. They also clearly illustrate some of the common problems faced by Third World and Canadian educational institutions who are struggling to re-define their role in the context of a new global economic order.

The intention of using higher education as a catalyst for social change through a social transformation model of internationalization sharply contrast the corporate an liberal paradigms of internationalization which attempt to increase academic and technological skills for competitive economic growth (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990, 377). The impact of university-industry partnerships has been the increased fragmentation of the university's teaching and research mandates in which tenure and promotion in some universities has become linked to "research productivity" (Newson and Buchbinder, 1988: 27). In the development context however, the problem is not so much a lack of research but rather a lack of implementation of research that is relevant to the Third World. A paucity of development research has primarily been generated through Western universities and funded by agencies such as the World Bank and IDRC, thus widening the gap between Western and Third World research, global economic restraints are likely to increase this dependence on externally produced research.

The increased focus in national economic development objectives is evident in the difficulty in finding financial support for Third World institutional linkages at the provincial and community levels. Despite increased business support of funding to universities for international development, few Canadian universities have been successful in attracting financial support for ICDS programs in the Third World (EIP, 1992) and, with the current re-structuring of CIDA and the decline in EIP funding, the sustain ability of these programs is tenuous.

The weakness using a modernization paradigm in the context of institutional linkages is its over-emphasis of the technical function of education and its focus economic elements of development which fails to address the social factors that influence change. ICDS projects often focus on the symptoms of underdevelopment rather than the root causes and are therefore less likely to have a significant impact on development for the majority of the population. However, the problem also lies with the educational expectations of Third World populations who see higher education as a mechanism to attain social and economic status, thereby perpetuating support for the meritocratic structure of university programs. Since ICDS projects currently lack an effective monitoring system or forum for ongoing evaluation and critical dialogues, success of the ICDS projects is often in measured quantitative terms measuring the number of Ph.D.'s produced. This focus on evaluating educational outputs instead of critically examing the outcome of education delivered thorough institutional linkage programs is largely a function of the modernization and human capital paradigms which guide development practices and the economic and time restraints which limit the long-term commitment of universities to ICDS projects.

The lack of a coordinated effort to address these inequalities is a trend which Dr. Kirpal, President of the Institute of Cultural Relations and Development Studies in New Delhi argues undermines the process of social change in both the Third World and developed nations. He states that:

> "the lack of sufficient involvement in the nature and process of change on the part of young people, their teachers and parents, administrators, politicians and policy-makers results in confusion and inertia.... In this state of neglect, confusion and fear, universities lose any vitality they may have possessed and cling to their rights and privileges without manifesting any strong will for change and improvement."
> (1974: 1)

Historically, most Canadian universities have played a unreflexive role in the development process, and this has limited the growth of more humanistic and socially transformative models of internationalization and development. In the current economic and political climate, it is apparent that if this trend continues the universities are in danger of losing their autonomy to pursue intellectual inquiry and critical discourse in the realm of an open academic environment.

The study argues that Canadian universities' involvement in international development still has the potential to make a significant social contribution to education in the Third World and that participation in institutional linkage projects also has the potential to contribute to the quality of higher education for Canadian students and the community. However, research also reveals the limitations of Canadian universities to achieve social change on a global scale in the context of a highly competitive free market driven by capitalist ideology. The divergence in development policies and practices within these and many Canadian universities is largely the result of the lack of critical dialogue about the root causes of underdevelopment, and this lack of critical discourse has undermined the possibility of developing a coherent and clearly articulated institutional development philosophy or policy. Although both universities involved in the case study are currently involved in dialogues at the formal and informal educational levels to establish an institutional plan for internationalization and development the potential for establishing communicative action through ICDS partnerships or in the current educational environment is not promising. Three major factors inhibit critical discourse on a number of levels in the context of institutional linkages and university development partnerships. First and foremost, the historical origin of institutional linkages and ICDS projects in the West, where deep-rooted support of modernization paradigms continue to inform EATIC foreign aid policies and the development practices led by the private sector, seriously limits the possibility for critical dialogue at a bureaucratic level. Therefore, the transformation of development theory into educational practice becomes guided by positivist approaches which merely reproduce structural inequalities through development partnerships. This calls to question the whole notion of partnerships which is based on the assumption that Canadian and Third World universities serve the same functions in their respective societies. This is a major assumption which needs to be examined more critically as it takes an ahistorical and apolitical perspective of development and is therefore dangerously shortsighted. Structural inequalities are therefore perpetuated at the institutional level when educational interventions in the Third World are based on the North's solutions to development issues. The unequal relationship between Canadian and Third World universities can be in part, attributed to the restrictive policies of CIDA and ICDS linkages and the imbalance in economic and decision-making power. However, another significant factor of these asymmetrical relationships is the lack of clarity in either Canadian or Third World universities' development goals; these has made both institutions more vulnerable to internal and external forces seeking to capture control and direction of the universities' human and physical resources..

The third limitation of ICDS and institutional linkages to foster open critical discourse on development issues is the assumption that the current academic climate and the organizational structure of a university is a feasible setting for such dialogues. The possibility of facilitating the development of inter subjective relationships (Habermas, 1970) among faculty, students, the local, development partners and the community in a hierarchical, highly bureaucratic and increasingly technocratic environment may overly optimistic. The potential for critical discourse is compounded further by the strategic under-representation of Third World students in Canadian universities. This also raises the question whether this type of critical discourse for Third World students can or even should take place in foreign institutions, and thus raises challenges to a number of underlying assumptions of ICDS linkages.

Some critics of social transformation models argue that Western universities should only address themselves to political issues which directly affect the efficient functioning of the institution or the liberty of its faculty or students (Wofford, 1968: 18; Maxwell-Currie, 1984). However, this argument is hardly conducive to critical discourse. Other critics of the model are more fatalistic in their reasoning, arguing that "the university exists in sufferance of the state... therefore it can only live where the state desires..." (Jaspers, 1968: 42; Pratt, 1988) Neither perspective is conducive to critical discourse and emancipatory action, and clearly reflect a limited understanding of the university's role in society. Universities are by their very nature, agents of social change, therefore there is a growing sense of urgency to re-evaluate their internationalization and development policies and practice in order ask themselves the critical questions: "For whom are we agents of social change, and what kind of change are we agents of?"

7.2 The Implications of Change for Canadian Universities

It is evident that if universities cannot work cooperatively in development initiatives at both national and international levels, then it is unlikely that their development efforts through ICDS projects will have any significant impact on social transformation in the Third World. The root of the problem seems to stem from inability of each institution to clearly delineate its relationship and function the larger community in a socially transformative way. Thus the task of designing and implementing relevant development projects becomes increasingly difficult. when it is extended to the larger global community.

This raises the question again whether Canadian universities can play the role of social change agents when they have yet to transform themselves or their educational practices. The underlying issue in this context is the university's power to influence economic and political trends in education and development. Some critics of institutional linkages argue that the university's ultimate role is a an agent of truth. This ,they argue, can only be achieved by questioning. However, others argue that universities are abdicating their responsibility for leadership and are making themselves more vulnerable to capture by outside forces which seek to have them become agents of their own change. (Wofford,1968: 14; Pannu et al. 1992) This issue clearly illustrates the need for universities to facilitate critical dialogue on these issues.

While this study revealed that the international development roles of the two universities observed had largely been shaped by external economic and political forces, it was also evident that there were faculty members and students attempting to initiate radical reform of development policies and practices in these institutions. The ICDS linkages at the University of Alberta and the University of British Columbia demonstrate that innovative development projects are more likely to come from a "thinking faculty" than systematically researched schemes of bureaucratic committees. This would seem to indicate the existence of catalysts for social change. In reality, however, since critical discourse often is generated only at an individual rather than an institutional level, its potential to generate liberatory action is limited.

It is virtually impossible to facilitate social transformation when little attention is given to the conditions for social change within educational environment and even less is understood about the process of social change through education. Therefore, further research is needed to address these issues. While the boundaries between higher education and their surrounding communities are diminishing, in the context of development, a number of social and economic barriers still remain between the university and the local community. Community service requires a specific quality of relationships in which collaboration and empowerment are cornerstones of critical discourse and emancipatory action. If this is to be accomplished, Canadian universities must first re-assess their relationship with their own communities and their role on society before they can participate more effectively in critical discourse with Third World institutions. This would also imply a reconceptualization of development partnerships.

7.3 Towards a Re-conceptualization of Development Partnerships

Historically, many Canadian universities have undertaken roles in international development before formulating a development policy or critically analysing the long term consequences these actions on both their own or the developing nation's institution. As a result, development in the Third World has been has been uneven and minimally productive in addressing the needs of the majority of the population. For Canadian universities, their involvement in international development has diversified their roles and enhanced the contradictions of their academic functions. Teaching is becoming increasingly marginalized by internal and external demands for applied R & D, which focuses on research partnerships for economic competitiveness. It is evident then that the current corporate model of internationalization is ineffective in promoting sustainable equitable human development for either institutional partner. Societies are, by nature, dynamic therefore it is essential the universities are so as well. Habermas (1970: 5-6) argues that the link between postwar democracy and traditional universities has come to an end because the two philosophies are competing with each other:

> *Either* increasing productivity is the sole basis of a reform that smoothly integrates the de-politicized university into the system of social labor and at the same time inconspicuously cuts its ties to the political, public realm.
> *Or* the university asserts itself within the democratic system. Today, however, this seems possible in only one way: although it has misleading implications, it can be called *democratization of the university...* Therefore, so long as we do not want to arbitrarily put a halt to rationalization, we do not need to accept the existence of an opposition between a university aiming at professional specialization and one aiming at external politicization.

To facilitate the democratization of universities, it is evident that a conceptual shift in the function of education in development is needed in order to re-define the roles which universities will need to play in the process of social transformation. One of the key concerns this study addressed was the ability of Canadian universities to address Third World development issues at a time when the Canadian economy and educational resources are scarce. The answer is yes, but under certain limitations. Three key issues must be clarified before the university can proceed in transforming its development role. First, an agent must have a principle to which he or she is responsible, therefore it is crucial that universities establish a critical dialogue within their own communities to articulate education and development priorities. Secondly, the university must decide who or what it is an agent of; in other words, will the university continue to play a reactive role merely adapting to political and economic forces or will it assume a proactive role and attempt to re-define its functions in the context of international development? And thirdly, what criteria will the university use to assess whether change is productive or detrimental to social transformation?

Georges Thill (1991: 78-87) in his discussion of the role of universities in international literacy campaigns supports a process of 'co-development' which parallels the some of the objectives of the social transformation model of internationalization. What is needed, he argues, are universities which can identify common points of interest and seek out creative strategies to implement them. He maintains that university partnerships need to encompass the academic and non-academic sectors using the broadest possible range of interdisciplinarity while focusing on concrete problems of development. In addition, a stronger interrelationship between training and research is needed and can be facilitated through linking science and technology strategies with the formal and informal economic structures. Throughout this process of development, he insists that ongoing critical evaluation is needed so that universities can reinforce their training and research capacities, promote greater collaboration among academics, actively participate in community projects and lobby decision-makers to shift from individual to institutional support for development strategies. In the current economic and academic climate, he argues that it has been difficult for this type of "co-development" to occur.

The study of both higher education development theories and practices in Canada leads to important professional and ethical conclusions. First, it is critical that Canadian universities re-assert their influence over the nature and direction of educational reform on both a national and international level, by redefining their educational functions and development roles in government and industry partnerships. While it is true that universities are dependent on government and business for financial support, it must also be acknowledged that they too are dependent on the universities' physical and human resources for innovation and this should be the starting point for negotiations.

Based on the findings of this study, it became evident that critical discourse needs to address three key issues. The first is the limitations of corporate and liberal models of internationalization in the context of international development. Human resource management and human resource utilization are thinly veiled human capital strategies which are used to promote economic development. In reality, what is needed is a more humanistic approach to development which emphasizes the holistic improvement quality of life for all people. This relates to the university's ability to develop educational policies and practices which foster this kind of social transformation in both partner institutions. In this context, social scientists have a key role in active policy-research by illuminating the broader social and cultural factors which influence development through action research. However, the distinction must be made by participation and involvement in development research. Often, it is the Western partners who are the planners and set the research objectives, while Third World partners serve only as "objects" or human resources who development is guide by external forces (Rahnema, 1990: 204). There is critical ethical issue surrounding development research that must be addressed. Exploration of these issues will reveal variables which policy-makers can address rather than producing policies wrapped in grand abstracted theories. Secondly, there is the issue of the need for intersubjectivity in critical discourse. The reciprocal flow of information among educational institutions, government agencies and the private sector and communities in both Canada and LDCs is absolutely vital to the process of communicative action and critical dialogue. The optimum environment to begin this process would be one in which communications and information mechanisms facilitate the free multi-directional flow of knowledge and information within and among institutions and its members. This synergism could evolve in universities whose institutional linkages foster the reciprocal flow of new knowledge from the North to the South, the South to North, and the South to the South through the interchange of publications and research materials. Research papers and theses generated through ICDS projects could be donated to the libraries of Canadian departments and faculties and Third World partner institutions in order to build a resource file which exhibits cross-cultural and multidisciplinary perspectives. Cooperative theoretical and applied research in education and human resource development could foster the growth of indigenous research capacities through the development of material resources and research management skills. The documentation of field experiences by both Canadian and LDC researchers would provide a feedback loop to each university's development education programs. The interdepartmental and the inter-institutional production and circulation of relevant ICDS and educational research publications sharing project findings, development strategies could raise participants' the awareness and understanding of development issues.

And thirdly, the strategy of **institution-building** must be re-conceptualized to avoid the perpetuation of structural inequalities produced by traditional and colonial models of higher education. It must be recognized that universities are composed of internal and external stakeholders with specific needs and goals who work within a highly structured environment, and they are influenced by diverse social, cultural, economic and political factors. As well, all members of the institution are restricted by the parameters of the university's central mission which binds the group within specific academic boundaries. This structure is not conducive to social transformation. Neither are the recommendations of the Commission on the Inquiry on Canadian University Education which simply seek to adapt the current structures to incorporate internationalization objectives. The infusion of an international component into academic mandates does not address the barriers which exist between universities and the communities which they are supposed to be serving. Critical discourse could be facilitated within the university environment through the establishment of an advisory committee which facilitates faculty, student and community involvement in the design, implementation and evaluation of institutional cooperation and linkage programs. Structural adjustment could facilitate the cooperative interaction and collaboration among faculties, departments and the community, and the integration of relevant courses for comparative and interdisciplinary approaches formal and nonformal studies and development education. Examples of re-structuring might include the re-definition of Faculty scholarship and academic tenure, beyond publication qualifications, to encompass broader educational experiences, teaching service and curriculum innovation particularly in the field of international development; incentives for innovation and research in university pedagogy, interdisciplinarity curriculum design, and development education. The establishment of critical dialogues and communication networks with local and national public, private sector NGI's and NGO's would be a critical factor for enhancing communicative action. All of these strategies would hinge upon institutional and community commitment of adequate financial, physical and human resources to facilitate these innovations.

7.4 **Conclusion: Universities as Agents of Change**

The discussions presented in this study are meant to stimulate critical discourse on the university's role in the process of international development. It is important that the process begins with a critical analysis at the institutional level of the underlying ideological and ethical issues of development which have guided universities' development practices over the past forty years. In order to facilitate this process, individuals who can sow the seeds for educational and development reform are desperately needed. Amnuay Tapingkae, Director of RIHED identifies the following types of people as those most likely to start innovative education for development projects because they share a systemic perspective of development:

> 1. Administrators who have been exposed to international, educational experiences either with overseas training or visits
> 2. Full-time professors who have wide contacts with their counterparts abroad and who are in a position to influence the administrators
> 3. Students who participate in university and student affairs and who have been exposed to national and regional or international experiences such as work camps, study-service and voluntary activities
> 4. Government officials who have university teaching and administrative experiences both at home and abroad.
>
> (Fogel, 1977: 26)

It is interesting to note that a number of these characteristics were evident in the interviews with the UBC and U of A project coordinators. These types of individuals are an essential ingredient to facilitating a positive environment that is conducive to critical discourse. People such as these need to be recruited and nurtured in an academic environment which allows them to take risks and initiate change while at the same time providing the administrative protection to pursue critical reflective discourse. This kind of environment of critical inquiry is essential to the pursuit of social justice. However, given the current educational and economic climate, Simpson's question (1986: 1) still stands as a legitimate concern: by responding to economic and political pressures from the state and the private sector are universities in danger of "becoming hustlers posing as educators?" This study argues that this danger is very real in the current climate. If universities fail to take a proactive and reflective role in critically analysing their education and development roles, it is likely that they will become nothing more "important pieces of political real estate." (Heyns, 1969).

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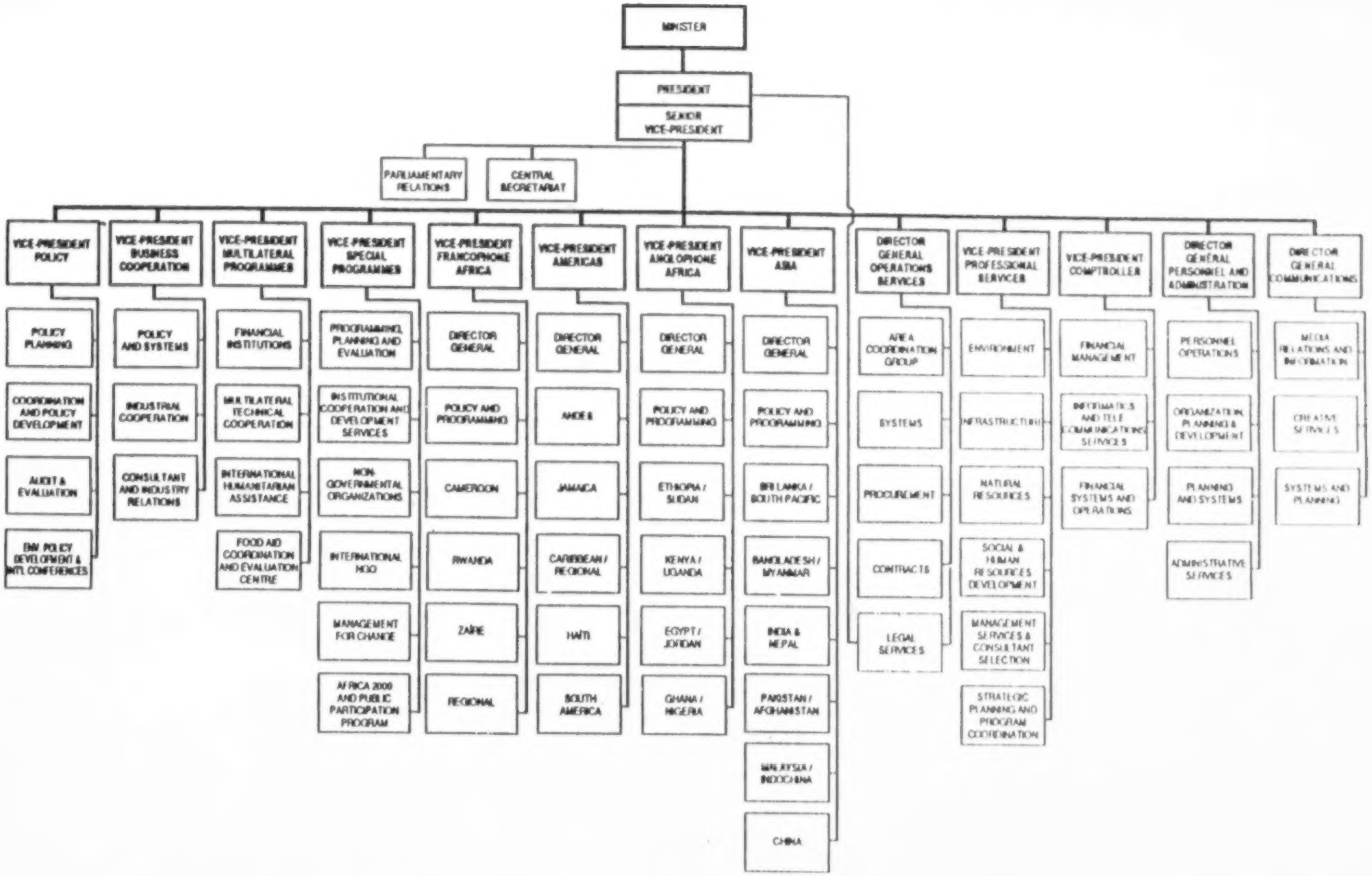
APPENDIX II: CIDA ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE


MINISTER
PRESIDENT
SENIOR VICE-PRESIDENT
PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS
CENTRAL SECRETARIAT
VICE-PRESIDENT POLICY
POLICY PLANNING
COORDINATION AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT
AUDIT & EVALUATION
ENV. POLICY DEVELOPMENT & INT'L CONFERENCES
VICE-PRESIDENT BUSINESS COOPERATION
POLICY AND SYSTEMS
INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION
CONSULTANT AND INDUSTRY RELATIONS
VICE-PRESIDENT MULTILATERAL PROGRAMMES
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS
MULTILATERAL TECHNICAL COOPERATION
INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE
FOOD AID COORDINATION AND EVALUATION CENTRE
VICE-PRESIDENT SPECIAL PROGRAMMES
PROGRAMMING, PLANNING AND EVALUATION
INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT SERVICES
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
INTERNATIONAL NGO
MANAGEMENT FOR CHANGE
AFRICA 2000 AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION PROGRAM
VICE-PRESIDENT FRANCOPHONE AFRICA
DIRECTOR GENERAL
POLICY AND PROGRAMMING
CAMEROON
RWANDA
ZAÏRE
REGIONAL
VICE-PRESIDENT AMERICAS
DIRECTOR GENERAL
ANDES
JAMAICA
CARIBBEAN / REGIONAL
HAITI
SOUTH AMERICA
VICE-PRESIDENT ANGLOPHONE AFRICA
DIRECTOR GENERAL
POLICY AND PROGRAMMING
ETHIOPIA / SUDAN
KENYA / UGANDA
EGYPT / JORDAN
GHANA / NIGERIA
VICE-PRESIDENT ASIA
DIRECTOR GENERAL
POLICY AND PROGRAMMING
SRI LANKA / SOUTH PACIFIC
BANGLADESH / MYANMAR
INDIA & NEPAL
PAKISTAN / AFGHANISTAN
MALAYSIA / INDOCHINA
CHINA
DIRECTOR GENERAL OPERATIONS SERVICES
AREA COORDINATION GROUP
SYSTEMS
PROCUREMENT
CONTRACTS
LEGAL SERVICES
VICE-PRESIDENT PROFESSIONAL SERVICES
ENVIRONMENT
INFRASTRUCTURE
NATURAL RESOURCES
SOCIAL & HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT
MANAGEMENT SERVICES & CONSULTANT SELECTION
STRATEGIC PLANNING AND PROGRAM COORDINATION
VICE-PRESIDENT COMPTROLLER
FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT
INFORMATICS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS SERVICES
FINANCIAL SYSTEMS AND OPERATIONS
DIRECTOR GENERAL PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION
PERSONNEL OPERATIONS
ORGANIZATION, PLANNING & DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING AND SYSTEMS
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
DIRECTOR GENERAL COMMUNICATIONS
MEDIA RELATIONS AND INFORMATION
CREATIVE SERVICES
SYSTEMS AND PLANNING

SOURCE: CIDA, 1991

APPENDIX III: Education and Development Documents

Critical analysis of the following documents was conducted to trace the source of change in Canadian universities' development roles:

1. Alberta Advanced Education. (1989). Trends and Issues in Post-Secondary Education 1989 to the Year 2000. Discussion paper. Edmonton, Alberta: AAE.

2. AAE. (1989). Goals and Priorities Post-Secondary Education 1989 to the Year 2000. Edmonton: AAE

2. AAE. (1990). Responding to Existing and Emerging Demands for University Education: A Policy Framework for Discussion. Edmonton: AAE.

4. AAE. (1990). 1989-90 Statistical Report. Edmonton:AAE.

5. AAE. (1990). 1989-90 Annual Report. Edmonton: AAE.

6. AAE. (1990). Alberta Advanced Education International Education Program. Policy, Guidelines and Procedures. Edmonton: AAE.

7. AUCC. (1986). Issues in Canada's Official Development Assistance Policies and Programs. A Submission to the Standing Committee in External Affairs and International Trade. Ottawa: AUCC

8. AUCC. (1991). Trends: The Canadian University in Profile. Ottawa : Research and Analysis, AUCC.

9. AUCC. (1991). Profile: Administrative Structures for International Cooperation at Canadian Universities. Ottawa: AUCC.

10. AUCC. (1990). International Division Progress Report 1989-1990 Ottawa: AUCC.

11. CBIE. (1990). Introducing The Canadian Bureau for International Education. Ottawa: CBIE.

12. CBIE. (1992). Annual Report. Ottawa: CBIE.

13. CBIE (1992). Synthesis. Ottawa: CBIE.

14. CIDA. (1980). CIDA's Response to University Initiatives in International Development: Criteria for Support. Ottawa: CIDA.

15. CIDA. (1989). Canada's Official Development Assistance Program: An Overview. Ottawa: CIDA.

16. CIDA. (1991). The Educational Institutions Program: A Guide for universities preparing a project submission. In the CIDA Annual Report 1989-90. Ottawa: ICDS Division.

17. CIDA. (1989). Introduction and Guide for Project Submissions. Ottawa: CIDA/ICDS.

18. CIDA. (1988). Final Report Of An Evaluation of The University Cooperation Program of the Educational Institutions Program (EIP) Vol. I & II, Ottawa: CIDA.

19. CIDA. (1992). Evaluation of The Educational Institutions Program Vol. I, II & III. Ottawa: CIDA.

20. CIDA. (1987). The Business of Development:
-A Guide For the Business Community
-CIDA's Industrial Cooperation Program
-Consultant Selection: Criteria & Procedures
-Executing Agencies
-Line Of Credit
Ottawa: CIDA.

21. CIDA. (1988). Canadian Fellowship Program for French-Speaking Countries. Ottawa: CIDA.

22. CIDA. (1988). Canadians and International Development: An Overview of the Official Development Assistance Program. Ottawa: CIDA.

23. CIDA. (1988). Annual Report 1987-1988. Ottawa: CIDA.

24. CIDA. (1989). CIDA Awards for Canadians. Ottawa: CIDA.

25. CIDA. (1987). Coming of Age: CIDA and Women in Development.Ottawa: CIDA.

26. CIDA. (1988). Report to CIDA: Public Attitudes towards International Development, 1988. Ottawa: CIDA.

27. CIDA. (1987). Sharing Our Future: Canadian International Development Assistance. Ottawa: CIDA.

28. CIDA. (1989). Signposts: Looking for Work in International Development. Ottawa: CIDA.

29. CIDA. (1989). What is CIDA ?. Ottawa: CIDA.

30. CIDA. (1991). Education and Training Strategy Paper. Ottawa: Unpublished paper in Educational Policy and Planning Department, CIDA.

31. CIDA. (1991). Education, Training and Human Resource Development: A CIDA SectorStrategy Paper. Draft for Review and Comment by Invitation. Unpublished paper. Ottawa: CIDA.

32. Educational Institutions Program. (1989). Evaluation of Institutional Cooperation for Development Programs. Ottawa: Gilroy, Goss and Associates.

33. EIP (1991) Evaluation of Institutional Cooperation for Development Programs. Ottawa: Gilroy, Goss and Associates.

34. Groupe Secor. (1991). Strategic Management Review: Working Document. Ottawa: CIDA.

35. Ministry of Advanced Education, Training and Technology. (1993). British Columbia Post-Secondary International Education in the 90's. Victoria: MAETT.

36. WUSC. (1989-1991). COMMUNIQUE : Quarterly Tabloid of World University Service of Canada Ottawa:WUSC.

37. WUSC. (1990). WUSC Annual Review 1988-89. Ottawa: WUSC Publications, Ottawa.

APPENDIX IV: Education and Development Statistics

The following documents were used to examine the direction of change in the universities' development role:

1. Alberta Advanced Education(1990). 1989-90 Statistical Report. Edmonton:AAE.

2. AAE. (1990). 1989-90 Annual Report. Edmonton: AAE.

3. AAE. (1990). Alberta Advanced Education International Education Program. Policy, Guidelines and Procedures. Edmonton: AAE.

4. Universities. Ottawa: AUCC.

5. Brintnell, Sharon (1992). 3rd Annual Narrative Project Review Year III,1991-92 University of Alberta/Academy of Physiotherapy Indonesia (CIDA/ICDS) Rehabilitation Services Cooperative Development/Indonesia File#:01832/S32285, Edmonton: Alberta International.

6. CBIE. (1992). Annual Report. Ottawa: CBIE.

7. Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. (1987). Foreign Students in Canada: Vol. I & II, Toronto: Council of Ministers of Education, Canada.

8. Educational Institutions Program. (1989). Evaluation of Institutional Cooperation for Development Programs. Ottawa: Gilroy, Goss and Associates

9. EIP. (1991) Evaluation of Institutional Cooperation for Development Programs. Ottawa: Gilroy, Goss and Associates.

10. Meisen, Axel. (1992). Cooperative Education for Regional Development. University of British Columbia/Universidad de Piura (Peru) ICDS Application. Vancouver: UBC

11. Meisen, Axel. (1987). Project Proposal on the Development of Engineering Expertise for Maintaining and Upgrading Civil Works in Northern Peru. ICDS project proposal and Executive Summary. Vancouver:UBC

12. Meisen, Axel. (1986). CIDA Supports UBC Training Project in Zimbabwe. ICDS project, University of British Columbia/University of Zimbabwe. Vancouver: UBC

13. Page, Gordon. (1986). Educational Technology Program for Health Professionals in the Commonwealth Caribbean. A Project submitted for Funding to CIDA, ICDS Division. Vancouver:UBC.

14, Page, Gordon. (1992). Final Narrative and Financial Report for the Educational Technology Project for Health Professionals in the Commonwealth Caribbean. CIDA/ICDS project, Vancouver: UBC.

15. Secretary of State. (1991). Profile of Higher Education In Canada. Ottawa: Secretary of State.

16. University of Alberta. (1992). Summary of Statistics-Academic Year 1992-93 Part B; Citizenship. Edmonton: International Center.

17. Alberta. International. (1992). International Directory: A Listing of the University's International Exchanges, Activities,and Procedures. Edmonton: University of Alberta.

18. University of British Columbia (1991) University-Industry Liaison Office Annual Report 1991-92. Vancouver: UBC.

19. UBC Centre for International Business Studies. (1990). ANNUAL REPORT for the Fiscal Year 1989-90 and WORK PLAN for 1990-91 .Vancouver:Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, UBC.

20. UBC. (1992). UBC INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS/LINKAGES. Vancouver: UBC International Liaison Office.

21. UBC. (1992). UBC International Visa Student Enrolment Statistics. Vancouver: UBC International Liaison Office.

22.Weismann, E. (1992). CIDA Thailand Institutional Linkage Program: June 18-20, 1992, Plenary I: Linkages and Institutional Development. Thammasat /UBC Vancouver.

APPENDIX V: Summary of Bilateral Funded HRD Linkage Projects

Bilateral funded education and training projects are part of CIDA's government-to-government assistance programs which are open for competitive bids They have been included in this study as a cross-reference to ICDS projects in order to illustrate other types of CIDA contracts for which universities compete. These contracts receive a larger percentage of CIDA funding (e.g. $2 Million per project as compared to an average of $500,000 for ICDS projects) and they run for two years as opposed to the five-year timeline for ICDS projects. In addition to the involvement of the two governments, the private business sector is often involved (CIDA,1991:18). Because the negotiations for these programs are conducted at the government level, they are highly influenced by structural adjustment programs (See Chapter Three for a discussion of the influence of the World Bank on Canadian foreign aid).

1. China-University Linkage Program

This is a $14.9 Million project whose purpose is to strengthen institutional capacities in China through the support of cooperative linkages between Canadian and Chinese universities and teaching hospitals. The Canadian partner institution is the Association of Unversities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and the local counterpart is the State Education Commission. The University of Alberta and University of British Columbia have established following linkages through this program:

a) University of Alberta and and the Central Institute For Education Administration, Beijing

b) University of British Columbia and the Guangzhou Children's Hospital, University of British Columbia and the Beijing You An Hospital. Research is conducted on infectious diseases.

2. Thailand Institutional Linkages Program

This is an $8 Million project designed for the purpose of increasing capabilities in the areas of poverty i.e. energy, natural resources,rural and institutional development in state and private, central and regional universities; and to foster collaboration among the Thai and Canadian universities to the benefit of both Thai and Canadian institutions. The Canadian partner institution is the AUCC and its counterpart is the Thai Ministry of University Affairs.

a) University of Alberta and the Maejo Institute of Agricultural Technology, Chiang Mai are linked to facilitate the development of agricultural outreach programs.
b) University of British Columbia and Thammasat University are linked to foster people's participation in rural development.

APPENDIX VI: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. INTERVIEW OBJECTIVES:

1. to identify the source for university involvement in ICDS linkages
2. to identify the development philosophy of each project coordinator and its implications for ICDS projects
3. to identify the role each project plays in relation to Canada's ODA policy
4. to identify the role each project plays in relation to the university's academic mandates of teaching, research and community service
5. to evaluate the impact of these involvements on the Canadian educational institution
6. to identify the impact of ICDS projects on social change in Canada

II. NTRODUCTION TO THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

The following statement was read aloud by the researcher prior to the interview:

> The purpose of this research is to examine the role which Canadian universities play in the field of international development, and to evaluate the impact this participation has had on post-secondary education in Canada."

III. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A) BACKGROUND EXPERIENCES OF PROJECT COORDINATORS

1. I would like to begin by having you provide me with a brief description of your academic position at ______, and any previous development experiences you may have had. How did you become involved in development?
2. How and why did you become involved in the ICDS program?

B) PERCEPTION OF ICDS PARTNERSHIPS

1. Who initiated the ICDS project/s? Why?
2. How were the project objectives and format developed ?
3. Who held the major responsibility for the design and implementation of the project?
4. Who were the major participants in the project?

C) PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

1. In what way do you feel your project contributes to development in the host country ?
2. How did you measure the impact of the project on the host country's development? What criteria did you use to evaluate the success of the project?
3. How would you define development within the context of ICDS linkages?

D) PERCEPTION OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

1. How does your project relate to your university's academic mandate?
2. How does your project relate to your university's development mandate?
3. How does your project relate to the host university's academic mandate?
4. How does your project relate to the host university's development mandate?
6. What impact has your involvement in the ICDS project had on your role as a teacher; on Canadian students; on research conducted at your institution?
7. What impact do you perceive ICDS projects have had on your university at the institutional level? i.e.: policy, curriculum, hiring practices, administrative structure

E) PERCEPTION OF LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITY INVOLVEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT

1. Based on your academic and development experiences, how do you rate the university's potential as a social change agent on a national and international level?
2. I would like you to make some projections for the future: what do feel will be the long-term consequences of Canadian universities' involvement in international development? (relate it to the university's 3 main functions of teaching, research and community service)

F) OPEN-ENDED DISCUSSION

Are there any further points you would like to make or questions you would like to raise?

IV. CONCLUSION

Thank you very much for participating in this research. Your input is greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX VII: University of Alberta Linkage Agreement

Memorandum of Understanding

between

____

and the

University of Alberta

The University of Alberta and ________________, wishing to establish relations between the two institutions, agree to cooperate as follows:

Scope of the Cooperation

Subject to mutual consent, the areas of cooperation will include any program offered at either institution as felt desirable and feasible on either side and that both sides feel contribute to the fostering and development of the cooperative relationship between the two universities.

Cooperation shall be carried out through such activities as:

a. Exchange of faculty and/or staff
b. Exchange of graduate and/or undergraduate students
c. Joint research activities and publications
d. Participation in seminars and academic meetings
e. Exchange of academic materials and other information
f. Special short-term academic programs.

The terms of cooperation for each specific activity implemented under this *Memorandum of Understanding* shall be mutually discussed and agreed upon in writing by both parities prior to the initiation of that activity. Any such agreements entered into, as outlined above, will form appendixes to this *Memorandum of Understanding*. Each institution shall designate a liaison officer to develop and coordinate the specific activities agreed upon. The designated liaison officers for this *Memorandum of Understanding* are:

for________________________	for the University of Alberta
Name ______________________	Title ______________________
Telephone __________________	Telephone __________________
Fax________________________	Fax ________________________
e-mail _____________________	e-mail _____________________

Notification of any change in liaison officers may be made by letter. Amendment of this *Memorandum* will not be necessary.

Renewal, Termination and Amendment

This *Memorandum of Understanding* shall remain in force for a period of five (5) years from the date of the last signature, with the understanding that it may be terminated by the appropriate authorities of either party giving twelve months notice to the other party in writing, unless an earlier termination date is mutually agreed upon. The *Memorandum of Understanding* may be amended or extended by mutual written consent of the two parties.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto have offered their signatures:

for________________________	for the University of Alberta
Name ______________________	Title ______________________
Telephone __________________	Telephone __________________
Fax________________________	Fax ________________________
e-mail _____________________	e-mail _____________________

Source: Alberta International, 1992.

APPENDIX VIII: University of British Columbia Linkage Agreement

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN EDUCATION ABROAD PROGRAM
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
AND

_________________________UNIVERSITY

THIS AGREEMENT is made on the _____ day of _____________ 1992 between THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, (UBC), in Canada and ________ in ____________/

WHEREAS the parties believe that the educational process at their respective institutions would be enhanced and mutual understanding between their respective students would be increased by the establishment of a reciprocal student exchange program organized according to the principles of mutual benefit:

NOW THEREFORE, the parties agree as follows:

1. Commencing with the 192/93 academic year, and in each succeeding year during the term of this Agreement. not more than five students enroled at UBC may be enroled at ___________ University as non-degree students and not more than five students enroled at _________ University may be enroled at UBC. Students may enrol for less than one academic year if appropriate to their selected course of study. Participating students will continue as candidates for degrees of their home institution, and will not be candidates for degrees of the host institution. The number of students to be exchanged may be modified by mutual agreement to compensate for an imbalance in numbers in any given year during the term of this agreement.

2. Participating students will be selected by their home institution on the basis of the following criteria which shall generally apply but may be deviated from in appropriate cases:
   a) Students shall have completed at least one year of university work prior to participation in the exchange

   b) Good Academic standing, as reflected by a minimum of 70% average (B average) or a ranking in the top third of the class in previous university academic work;

   c. Appropriateness of program of study to be undertaken through the exchange program;

   d. Good character, suitable motivation, and sufficient maturity to live in the environment provided by the institution.

3. Students participating in this program shall be exempt from paying tuition and academic fees to the host institution. It is understood that a balance in numbers of students exchanged shall be sought over a a five year period. Two students in attendance for one semester each will be counted as the equivalent of one student for one year.

4. UBC students seeking admission to ____________ University and ____________ University students seeking entrance to UBC under the terms of the Agreement shall meet the admission requirements of the host institution. Culture-specific requirements can be waived by mutual consent. Each institution reserves the right to reject candidates and the nominating institution has the right

to appeal such a rejection. Besides the academic acceptance, each student must provide sufficient documentation to satisfy the government requirements for issuing visa-related materials. In the case of ____________, this documentation includes a personal history form, a copy of the title page of the passport, financial verification papers, official transcript, and certification of current student status.

5. Each University agrees to appoint a Liaison Officer or Exchange Program Coordinator, who shall provide advisory and other academic services to students participating in the exchange under the terms of the Agreement.

6. UBC and ____________ University students in the exchange program shall pursue an academic program developed in consultation with the student's home institution, which conforms with the regulations of the host university. Each student shall have all rights and privileges enjoyed by other students on the host campus. Students participating in the Program shall be subject to the rules, regulations and discipline of the host institution. The two universities will provide each other with adequate information on the performance of the participants.

7. Both UBC and ____________ University agree to work together toward the integration of UBC students into ____________ student life and the integration of ____________ students into Canadian student life.

8. Both Universities will make every reasonable effort to insure that University-approved accommodation is available to students participating under the terms of this exchange. The parties agree that if a residence hall or other suitable University-approved accommodation is provided, it will be at a cost per student no greater that that charged to local students attending the host institution. The cost of such housing shall be paid by the students as individuals.

9. It is agreed that students participating in this exchange shall be entitled to participate in any introductory or orientation courses or programs that may customarily be arranged for foreign students at the host institution. Furthermore, every effort will be made to meet incoming students at the local airport and to assist them in making living arrangements.

10. This agreement shall commence on ____________________, and shall continue for five years, subject to revision or modification by mutual agreement. Either party may terminate this Agreement as of the end of any academic year by giving at least six months notice.

____________________________ ____________________________

David Strangway, President
The University of British Columbia

Date Signed: ______________________

________________________________ ________________________

A. Bruce Gellatly, Vice-President
Administration and Finance
The University of British Columbia

Date Signed: ________________________
Canada

Source: UBC International Liaison Office, 1992.

APPENDIX IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA: A/1

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)- we have tried to circulate to all Deans or Dept.s and Faculties a model statement which you can include in your faculty salary and promotions criteria saying international development is valuable and it's acceptable for merit purposes... Home Economics, Agriculture, Education and Forestry accepted it [but] the Arts and Business Faculties were not so inclined at that time -Two years later, the model statement was re-circulated again to the Deans saying we'd like you to re-consider but I've had no indication that its had an impact. -In times, it [internationalization] may even be in competition with development -The business sector is looking for universities to 'front' for them -Some faculties find it easier to free up faculty to go [on ICDS projects] -it depends on the teaching load ... and their internal budget -The fact is that when an institution signs a contract, it is the institution that is involved...committing its resources...it's an individual working for an institution -In some areas [overseas] we're tolerated because we bring money - I think people with international experience are valued but I don't know if we go out and look for them... but everyone looks for the best person available	**(TA)**- the people in the Sciences who tend to get involved are the ones, generally speaking, who are older & are well-established in their careers and are not so worried about where they're going -...but to send a young Phd student in Science to work in that area [international R&D] it's difficult to find people who are willing to do it -It's [the university] is a collection of individuals; they have their own agendas... if they're good researchers, they'll make sure their research is reflected out of the international projects... that does involve going to Japan & Europe where they see it as an opportunity in their careers to see frontline research -There are others who say that's not where I'm going no matter how much we try to persuade them of the opportunities - finding a selection committee [for a CIDA scholar] difficult because you have to have someone who knows what the students are up against and people who know the standards of the discipline-there has to be a dynamic between the two groups	**(TA)**- generally the overall policy of U of A has been to encourage ICDS linkages by forwarding all..but ICDS has been less effective for us than in the past and this [limit of 2 projects/institution] , I'm afraid to say has really reflected some of the prejudices, biases of some of the officers within CIDA who feel that ICDS is very time-consuming... -There was a person from CIDA who was here yesterday in Agriculture, talking about the stresses within CIDA between their altruistic approach and commercial support of Canadian business...they're really getting tremendous pressure from both sides - I would like think that ICDS linkages would lead to an increase in the number of our students going to southern countries to study, finishing degrees there, not just thinking in terms of the old European world and developed countries but going and being enthused about going and learning more-they would become knowledgeable internationalists -Canadians in times of economic downturn, become very critical of what seems like charity abroad instead of charity at home and people interpret CIDA as charity abroad -One of the problems CIDA/ICDS face is they don't have a constituency

APPENDIX IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA: A/1

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(MI)- sometimes we bring international students here on scholarships then they get into the Dept. and under their influence, study something that really doesn't fit in with development - in Alberta. where kids are having trouble getting into institutions, for us to say our mission is to work overseas-our job is to teach and do research right here -Sometimes I think we should just scrap all these institutional linkages and put them into scholarships and travel [so] our students could go there and their students could come here...it's not so important that one of us fly to Thailand for 3 weeks, it's better if their students came here to study for 3 years... our current President and V.P are certainly interested in this	**(MI)**- CIDA feels that producing an M.A. is better than a Phd. because it is costly-they don't take the long view... -It is highly dependent on the Faculty perception of development whether the work is related to development	**(MI)** [commitment] ...I guess a real institution coming to international development work would say fine this portion of our budget goes to international development and we're not going to be told by CIDA what to do, we're going it on our own-in a sense that's what we're doing...putting a lot of money into research, T.A.positions for students from other countries
(DS)-internationalization does not mean development... -In the Business faculty,what they're really doing is reflecting the needs of business -It [the 2 ICDS project /per university policy] might work if universities could have joint projects, but we don;t know who is working on projects	**(DS)**)- I think it's the view of by main-line academics that if you get involved in international development. if it's not on the cutting-edge of research it's make-busy work, it's 'nice' work but it doesn't really progress you within the profession or the discipline - international to many of our scientists is working in the US or Europe-that's the international link to them-development doesn't come into it	**(DS)**- people tend to look on work in ICDS in many ways as community service... the Faculty of Arts says that's not really relevant to our discipline...we're still very Eurocentric -the sad thing about ICDS projects is that they have to come to an end..[it] is a bit like falling off a cliff because the universities themselves don't have the resources to maintain even a modest linkage(C) as I've emphasized to them, CIDA is not the only game in town for a university - international work, as important as it is, is not the main mission of the university

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: U of A PC 1/A2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA) - if they [international students] are here for 3 years entirely learning about School Administration in Canada, they're likely to lose the realities of their own setting - I can't understand the reasoning for using Canadian staff teaching in developing countries; it should be joint teaching. Sustainability-follow-up in Third World staff development so that they are in a better position to define their needs because of this experience. The multiplier effect is very important-teaching a course to 20 teachers doesn't do much - ICDS shouldn't only work with Ministries of Education, they need to work with colleges and educational institutions to build the infrastructure -... students are so engrossed in their own studies- we haven't provided enough activities to involve them [in ICDS projects] we need to look at what kinds of activities we can structure to involve them.The problem is students come and go into all different departments therefore there is no home base	**(TA)** - there should be joint research, comparative studies- in some rural parts of Africa, the link between parents' socio-economic status and students academic performance doesn't exist.Why? When does it come in in Canada? - in Dar es Salaam the goal was to strengthen the Educational Faculty to offer a wider program up to a Masters' ...a spin-off benefit is that they're now doing their own research and sending materials to us -We need to inquire what kind of activities are likely to be more beneficial.	**(TA)**-there are two kinds of activities being funded: 1) international students return home from Canada and establish a link with the home institution which is the wrong motive for a development project. I don't think any university should get into international development in that way 2) where the university has a policy but it is still a clear policy of what its intention is-to help strengthen the capacity of developing countries to deliver their own training so that they are no longer have to come to Canada to study-unless that element is there I don;t think the project should be encouraged -We must recognize that any of these projects should be of benefit to Canadian policy-makers because they're funding ICDS work, to my mind of thinking, any kind of activity must have pay-off benefits to Canada: 1) training programs for Third World countries should be open to Canadian students to prepare them for work 2) joint research and comparative study to improve our own educational policies 3) building good relationships-this is a spin-off but it shouldn't be the sole motivator - Club IDC helped to raise the awareness of students and through that association, the faculty got involved in the Global Education Project, so it [development education] has penetrated the school system -Keenness by our students to have some experience in developing countries led to the Youth Initiatives Project in India. We directly benefit from it because of the changing nature of the school composition

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: U of A PC 1/A2

(MI) - a cross-cultural psychology course was revised due to the professor's experience teaching in a developing country -Most Canadians go not with the desire to impose their ideas but to learn. As a result they are much more able to come back with ideas which influence their teaching	**(MI)**	**(MI)**... [ICDS projects] must be a joint program but what it becomes are the hopes and aspirations of the Canadian institution. Rather than sending only Canadians to the Third World, they need to come here to see if it is what they want
(DS) -I think if you talk about sustainability, Canadians are very good at working WITH students from developing countries rather than telling them what to do -it must be a joint program .there should be a new focus-don't just do Phd.s and Masters only, there should be two parts: 1) some work should be done in the local institution,selection of students, give them work and a stipend for a year 2)then come to Canada-Canadian institutions need to be flexible enough to recognize training from that program	**(DS)**	**(DS)** -We're becoming more parochial in our outlook which to my mind is not the right way to go-the focus shouldn't be driven by economic interests - Canadian universities have done quite a bit as agents of social change in terms of orienting their own members of the kinds of activities that can be carried out internationally - AUCC has done a very good job in this as a datasbase [for international development] -We haven't tried to link up with the general public-we need to play a more active role in educating the public, but funding is a problem -In terms of Third World institutions, Canada can only play a supporting role as a catalyst-the Third World must be the change agents. We merely open them up to new ideas and experiences -Universities in Canada but to the financial squeeze will find it increasingly difficult for them to carry out these activities unless CIDA finds ways for alternative funding- we need to direct all of our activities during the summer break... The other thing too that CIDA has not considered has been to facilitate inter-university meetings to share expertise and establish joint projects - CIDA is motivated not only by technical competence but also by political considerations; they can't restrict areas but they can set development priorities in each area. Their Centres of Excellence had a limited impact due to financial considerations

APPENDIX IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA: PC/2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)-Dr. B. when scouting a few months after Namibian independence. It was to solicit requests from interested parties form some assistance from U of A - The agreement was made between the Ministry of Education and the University of Alberta. It was decided that the Ministry was the more stable partner in the project because the Academy is in flux -Their clients are prospective elementary teachers which is another reason why the university isn't involved because they deal will the production of secondary school teachers The colleges are remnants of the apartheid regime where most elementary teachers were blacks who went North - there are some arrangements for a few instructors to come here for Graduate Studies --at the moment there are no [Canadian] graduates in Math/Science Education to call upon -The Ministry has contacted the University of Maya in Sweden to give principal technical assistance in pre-service teacher training....Two Swedish consultants came to discuss their intentions at U of A and I went there[Sweden] ...The Swedes are behind schedule and it makes it difficult for us because of the pressure form CIDA	**(TA)**- But of course, the [ICDS] projects don't build in a research component-that has to built -attached to it separately, which is a bit of a pain for people like me. I would like to be able to conduct some research projects in conjunction with other projects	**(TA)**- I remember when I first went to Botswana because I was devoid of any support structure, I really had to generate my own scheme of things and I was forced to go back and look at the assumptions I was making-because that was the only way in which I was going to be able to work out whether anything I was doing was likely to have any good reason for it. So yah, I think it does certainly[make you reflective]Certainly, you can't be oblivious to your reasoning in a situation like that - I think that it's very hard to be the very minor player in a picture that is evolving in Namibia. There are a number of different aid agencies-the American on has $20-30 Million while ours has just under a Million for over five years so we tend to get shoved around and it's not done with any malice. We need to unite our own forces across Canada or across the university. We should be able to have more impact. - CIDA is not sympathetic but WUSC was a better use of my time. Less than three months is to short to analyze any situation. We need some sort of scheme where we could go for a whole term, instead of floating in and floating out.

APPENDIX IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA: PC/2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(MI) -the purpose of the project was to upgrade the academic and professional qualifications of instructors in teacher training colleges. Their clients are prospective elementary teachers which is another reason why the university isn't involved because they deal will the production of secondary school teachers - Re-working the whole curriculum will require a massive philosophical change - in the two workshops we gave last summer, I think we were definitely able to introduce a different way of thinking about teaching and learning that was very much in line with the approach adopted by the Swedish team - learning is something that individuals do for themselves; it's not a matter of memorization or regurgitation, but a matter of constructing meanings about various pieces of information, events,-personal meaning. I think the instructors that I worked with were totally taken aback at the prospect of being able to have some input into the shape of the workshops themselves. They definitely weren't used to being asked, "Well, what would you like to do? What needs do you have?" They were used to an expert/novice relationship; they weren't used to a collegial approach to learning I think that they participated in a workshop that was of very different nature than anything they'd been in before	(MI)	**(MI)**-)You're not conforming to a general pattern-like here-everybody goes into the classroom, everybody has a mid-term and a final. There isn't any pattern for you to follow or at least the old pattern you know that you don't want to follow-what we're used to doing because it hasn't been particularly productive so you know you want to do something different, but what that difference is a big question mark. - [influence of ICDS project on teaching] No, I think,-well, yes, yes and no. I think what happens is the contrasts are so much greater in a country like Namibia that it seems to either reinforce what you're doing or to question what you're doing-it tends to be pretty clear-cut that what you're doing is going to be useful or what you're doing isn't going to be useful in this situation. In fact, here you can see thing a little more clearly-the kinds of things that are going to be successful here. It tends not to be bound by a particular classroom. You'll find something that works particularly well there-but you're forced much more into a questioning mode when you're over there

APPENDIX IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA: PC/2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(DS)- the project criteria for success has not been formalized in Namibia because of the nature of the educational system prior to independence. It is an incredibly didactic system, and what the Ministry is trying to do is to bring about a total reform in the ways of thinking about what schools might be. So I think I;m speculating but I think it will be more about a way of thinking about what you are trying to accomplish than any paper qualifications - Whether they [the Namibian teachers at the summer workshop] would take it away and model it, I'm not sure. They told me that if an instructor was to go into one of their classes and say,"What are your ideas about the topic?" students would figure that the instructor hadn't done his or her homework and was just buying time and winging it., because[they perceive] the students' ideas are not important	**(DS)**	**(DS)**- I suppose the impact will be in the participation of these people in various courses within the Department or within the faculty, and how it will go-I don't know. Elementary Education, in contrast to the Department of Educational Foundations, has been quite limited in its foreign graduate students, so the Department isn't used to having people from very different backgrounds from themselves, so there may be a considerable impact, if we get to that stage....There are a few foreign students in elementary education, mostly from Asian, Caribbean countries. Elementary Education hasn't been particularly welcoming in admission procedures to foreign students. - ...I think that those of us who live in the Western world and have so much should be prepared to share what we have with developing countries. I think there's also an opportunity for teaching and workshops and people coming here to study as well

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: U of A: PC:3/A3

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)- I think that if we're going to do this kind of work, we [Canadians] as individuals have to draw up long-term relationships with the people we're working with. I would like to continue to maintain and build that work in Nepal -not as an expert in South Asia or Nepal, but because I think that development flows through personal relationships and as I become more knowledgeable about their context and what they're doing, they can exploit me (in a positive sense) which , I think, is their job and that's the ethical side. - I don't go in as an expert. I go in as a person, I've got some knowledge and skills and they bring knowledge and skills to that relationship also. Through that process, there should be some kind of catalyst, some kind of energy that arises that contributes to the development process -When we lose those international students, we lose half the teaching resources. They contribute so much at the graduate level. especially. The professors are at best are facilitators rather than experts. The university loses its knowledge function and it loses its capacity to generate knowledge, it loses its teaching function, it loses its capacity to create an ideal learning environment for its students - The project was initiated through the Nepalese doing Ph.D. studies at U of A in Educational Administration;they linked supervisors and then Dr. Bacchus took it over because of his knowledge and experience (3) staff turnovers created a problem [for project sustainability]	**(TA)**- The Vice-Chancellor believes that one of the difficulties there [Nepal] is that the staff don't do research and they don't seem to have the same engagement in their work that we do; somehow their work is not as interesting enough so some of them moonlight-they take jobs outside. It's not just financial, those jobs are more interesting. So he sees our institution as a kind of model for this . That is serendipitous as it wasn't the project's intention -If the Nepalis had designed this research project there would have been no women simply because they hadn't thought of it- that's being a social change agent. -We hadn't taken into consideration the kinds of constraints on women. We haven't designed the project adequately; we need to look at junior staff- because we had aimed at getting PhD's	**(TA)** - It's changed me profoundly... I don't know that it'd benefited my career. but I don't really think of my work that way, but if anything, it may have even handicapped it a little bit because I finding a harder time publishing and an even harder time meeting some deadlines.It has benefited me academically and personally incredibly (but I don't really separate those two) - The Vice-Chancellor at Tribhuvan University kept seeing it as something we gave to them and I said that's just not true-we gain so much-you have no idea how much we learn, how much more knowledgeable we become about the process of teacher education in our context. We begin to see a very different setting, and very different patterns; not that we're superior, but we've got something to compare and think about- a frame of reference from which to draw from... I feel very strongly that we've gained more than they have -Canadian students can't participate in international trade and international relationships because they participate as culturally-crippled people- they speak one language, they have one color- they see the world that way.

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: U of A: PC:3/A3

TEACHING

(MI)-We need a language for when we are talking about development for all of us-we need to be able to say what's happening in Canada in relation to women is also women in development or women in international development, so that when you as a Nepali - I need to be talking the same thing in some ways about our own countries and then sharing our experiences... language in sociology could be used in informal education, adult education in development

-The way relationships are constructed in the workplace ... is destructive to the informal educational experience. There needs to be a flow of information that's relevant to that work. We put so much emphasis on classrooms-the area of informal educational is at least as important. It became so clear to me in this relationship and I don't think I would have noticed this at home.

-I had to go through quite a bit of learning in that process. As I talk to my students, the world is a different place, and I talk to them about that world in a meaningful way; I can avoid the stereotypes that they have because the media carries an incredible stereotype of those situations

- To be honest, some of those perspectives I had a long time ago. When you work in cross-cultural classes, you have to use techniques to involve everyone. I was sensitive to these issues before. Some of my thinking was stereotypical in relation to poverty and to infrastructure-it has given e much more concrete knowledge in specific situations-I'm going to ask new questions

-It has enriched my teaching; the text mediates discussion, but I can bring an oral experience that increases the value of that text

- I don't know what global education means, but I know what global feminism means to me and I know for me that working in Canada is part of a globe-all our actions impact on other people on the globe including our attitudes

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RESEARCH

(MI)

COMMUNITY SERVICE

(MI)

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: U of A: PC:3/A3

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(DS)-I think that our mandate is to develop a system of knowledge, in our case, about education-Social Science, social relations, political economy, cultural structures and education Our mandate is to understand and explain those systems that is not only helpful to education but to policy-makers and theorists Education is highly culture-bound, but to a degree, we don't recognize it's culture-bound. You need to know cultures around the world in order to understand education in our own cultures, but we also need to be, as much as possible, embedded in our own cultures, certainly when we are preparing people for occupations in this culture. What flows from that- the same holds true for students but in a different way. It is imperative that they have peer relationships with international students. I get sick of differential fees.	**(DS)**	**(DS)** - But I also think that a university which doesn't ground itself in its local community is also a disaster, and to some degree, we do neither of these things [internationalizing student educational experiences and local community involvement] -We go in with a mandate to assist and strengthen. I think we can't do that unless we have a social consensus and a good knowledge base. We inevitably become social change agents because of the kinds of questions we ask -It's important for Canadian universities to recognize that we get a great deal out of it. I think that's part of braking the donor mentality. But my fear is that it will be defended solely in financial terms and see it as a market. The international agencies said that the biggest problem with people coming there [Nepal] as a staff because they want to trek -An increased amount of volunteer labor comes on the backs of the Canadian staff, and comes at a cost to their own staff's careers in terms of engagement and commitment to work. The universities miss the advantages they're getting. They too measure these things in terms of dollars and resources they're getting.

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA:PC4/A4

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)- This project, I was aware of its inception because it originated with someone who I had been involved with, almost like a mentor. Eventually her activities and her involvement led to a proposal and then she joined us on faculty...It was one of those fortuitous events which are pretty typical - there's a lot of people involved-primarily people within this faculty. The project deals with the education of 4 physiotherapists as O.T's who are studying here and who will become the faculty there. ...We are not in a university[in Indonesia] we are in an Academy, comparable to a junior college -When I took the project on, I said I'm not prepared to do it unless I have a commitment on the part of the faculty to be involved, because my understanding is that it's fine for me to take the project, but I'm not the expert in all these areas, nor am I prepared to do all the work given my other job and so it had to be a faculty commitment. So that when I needed assistance, I had the backing of the Dean's office and the department... All members of the department have been involved in their respective areas. - I've also made links and explored with Australia and other places who are closer to come in and help them - I learned [about running ICDS projects] OJT-on-the-job training. It was very time-consuming administrative kinds of activities and playing catch-up and that was not a very positive aspect of the project	**(TA)**-It's interesting, the original grant had all Canadians going over there to do research; remember, you have faculty at the Academy, but really their level of research skills is very low.Given that one of the objectives is to raise it.our research will look at the area of CBR. - we will use a local researcher; there is a group there that is well-known in the area of health services research, epidemiology... rather than taking Canadians who are not familiar with the circumstances, the culture nor the can they access any of the literature ...so we have changed the external researcher to a local, Indonesian-based group	**(TA)**-we did the advance work; we visited them on site..we were very cautious about the kinds of experiences we wanted them to have; we didn't give them the full breadth because that's not what they're going to have at home -They didn't have a professional identity, they didn't have a role model and they didn't have a surface delivery system, so we've been working on the infrastructure in Indonesia, and that has been my role - If you're going to parachute a new profession into a country, you've got to insure that it is ready for it, that the civil service recognizes all of the employment categories which is set in place and the positions are there. I mean you're going to be turning out 40 students-where are they going to work? - The exposure of the 4 students here had heightened our students' awareness of cultural diversities through presentations and discussions. Our faculty involved with the students, are much more culturally sensitive to the meaning of health. We are learning about the village... the burden of care is working right at the village level - the university has a major role to play-there are lots of us doing this activity; it enhances the profile of the university, it pays for itself. I want to know if somebody knows what the rules are.If they [CIDA/ICDS] are really committed to Canada and the Third World they've got to make sure we in the West have equal access-I don't feel we have equal access;the whole area [of international develop- ment] provides something , we give something back to the community-both our own and other communities [but] we are all working independently her on this campus, it is a weakness.Maybe we need to look at an Alberta network with Calgary

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA:PC4/A4

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(MI)- The second part of the project was to support them in the development of an O.T. curriculum and to support them in the refinement of the P.T. curriculum - You can't have one person be the total curriculum expert, that's just not the way the world goes - ...I have been in my role, in my visits there, during that time we've done curriculum orientation and development workshops, working on that side of it with the government structure	**(MI)**-The third component of the project was to facilitate research development with the faculty,Then there is one other aspect-it was to do some evaluative research there, as well -The evaluative research part will not actually deal with the project the way it was designed, but it will deal with an area of activity in Indonesia for which our partner is well known and that's community-based rehabilitation	**(MI)**-Within the curriculum construction and the design for the O.T. and the P.T., we are going to put in a module of what we call community-based rehabilitation (CBR) It is the area for which our partner is world-known so we need to convert what he's doing in the process into curriculum content, which has not been done - the second thing we've been able to do-we've had a high commitment of the clinical community-the hospitals provide the the fieldwork and that has come through the involvement of 4 students out there doing a Practicum..and that has mad a contribution in a variety of ways, and this is where I think we've benefited and that has enhanced the process for us -The clinicians have helped them see the differences... throughout the process their were attempting to look at their circumstances with ours... and one of the things they did was sort of interpret some of these activities but using their own indigenous experiences in terms of culture, crafts and a variety of things

Appendix IX: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UA:PC4/A4

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(DS) - the reason we've been able to do that[curriculum workshops] successfully is the prestige of Dr. H. I think truthfully, the secret to success in many of these projects , from listening to other people, is who you partner is. I think people who go in there because of altruism and values and think they're going to do something and deal with a group who have no internal network of their own, in a sense don't have much recognition within their own system, are totally supported by this external one, ar probably not going to be able to sustain themselves.They need a white knight on the other side - In our own area, what is happening of course, in Indonesia, is that they are using the infrastructure that is there in community support which is a part of the daily life, but gradually, I think probably learning from ours. They don't want to make this a high cost element, so in the very beginning, they're going to have to look at how their health care professionals are used and that's why they've developed the model they have	**(DS)**- research is going to look at the effective use of ancillary lay personnel in villages and the impact for us is our healthcare delivery system can make some modifications to the way it functions with professionals.We have to prepare our own graduates to do that and we can benefit from it. Our excuse for developing a curriculum for them will help us to say what we can do in our own curriculum and what do we put in our Practicums to prepare our graduates for when they hit the field to supervise and direct programs through these lay professionals or auxiliary personnel. I think that will be part of the future.	**(DS)** -unknown to us and unknown to them, the A World Bank had put money into a health project in Indonesia of rehabilitation which was component. An internal program manager, a Canadian who was sniffing around, discovered that we were there; we began to talk about what could happen and what we were able to do was to get the WB to support our project.They wanted to have a fellowship for continuing professional education for the faculty Academy. What we ended up doing was providing a fellowship for 5 Physio's from Sulowasi and 2 from our institution and as an adjunct, we also set up and brokered with Grant McEwan College for 4 psychiatric nurses - from the O.T. framework, the environment and culture is part of what we look at in our holistic delivery...I think it;s heightened in this element....We're interested in looking at traditional healers..patterns of social interaction, those are the benefits for us, those are the things that would not have been particularly identified as an interest for us had we not been involved in this project....This experience could allow us to extrapolate to other areas, being resources at this level, initiating... -We see people as active beings within three areas of performance: self-care, productivity and leisure, and within these areas which impact on physical, mental, socio-cultural and spiritual. - I think these projects, in a sense, the kind we have are a 2-step process: first you initiate it, get it going; if you did a good job, there should be , not a guarantee, but better than a 50/50 one that you can be able to support them for the next period of time

APPENDIX X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: A/1

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)-historically, the projects were independent of the universities, they were started by people with interests in development... virtually all [ICDS] projects were stimulated on an individual basis - a number of faculty have held previous international development positions.but faculty is selected on the basis of expertise in their fields which, in turn, leads to support through funding, resources and increased student enrollment -the UBC/Japan program is a $2 million program put in the Faculty of Education, involving joint-teaching & joint-governance -we have an international faculty- some professors feel it's already international -leadership is the key - a supportive environment and long-term commitment... to building alliances with industry, government creates a fertile educational environment which fosters excellence, innovation and initiatives	**(TA)**- you're over-emphasizing the importance of these projects to the intellectual context in which the researcher works -the more powerful cutting-edge of disciplines is not in the Third World, because they can't get resources to keep up with the changes	**(TA)**-international students don't have the influence in the Third World to generate projects -Deans aren't sure what the ILO does but the President & the V.P. felt it was very useful - CIDA perceives Canadian universities as being self-centered & arrogant, and not concerned with the welfare of others if they are focussed on humanitarian aid in the Third World -the HRD trip of CIDA, helping the poorest of the poor is a warped sense of Canadian niceness...they can't come to grips with maximizing talent... therefore there is no articulate vision of the university's role in international development
TEACHING	**RESEARCH**	**COMMUNITY SERVICE**
(MI) -internationalization of campuses is a touchy issue. Knowledge knows no bounds. - the hidden curriculum is far more important- it is the intellectual growth and development that often has the most impact here, but it can't be documented.	**(MI)**	**(MI)**

APPENDIX X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: A/1

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(DS) -the ILO office is development-oriented. Its mandate has a broad focus of internationalization with all countries of the world... and, its emphasis is on liaison... The agenda is set through the ILO office. - but is it necessary for every faculty member [to participate in development activities] ? I don't know. - There should be no project without self-transformation of the universities - CIDA needs to play a more active role in facilitating the university's development of an international focus; it is part of their responsibility ... they can provide incentives, funding	**(DS)** -there is no clear policy for weighting [national & international] research grants for example, funding research for African French literature or French-Canadian literature. -we earn $ 20 million from Asian links for things we're interested in;. we get $200,000 from CIDA... - CIDA should be re-conceived to promote mutual benefits in development	**(DS)** -universities are not an international development agency; the university has a teaching and research perspective, however they can be used for a national agenda... for mutual benefit and Canada's interest. - CIDA as a catalyst for change is untrue... it doesn't see its mandate to develop Canadian universities but it is changing - Yet with economic cutbacks, universities have to set priorities where things are going to generate funding - CIDA funding has not been a significant factor in the development of UBC and is less likely to be so with the new CIDA policy for ICDS projects... Therefore ICDS projects are not likely to be a source for change or internationalizing Canadian universities

Appendix X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: A/1: (a)

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)-historically, the projects were independent of the universities, they were started by people with interests in development... virtually all [ICDS] projects were stimulated on an individual basis - a number of faculty have held previous international development positions.but faculty is selected on the basis of expertise in their fields which, in turn, leads to support through funding, resources and increased student enrollment -the UBC/Japan program is a $2 million program put in the Faculty of Education, involving joint-teaching & joint-governance -we have an international faculty- some professors feel it's already international - leadership is the key- a supportive environment and long-term commitment.to building alliances with industry, government creates a fertile educational environment which fosters excellence, innovation and initiatives	**(TA)**	**(TA)**
(MI)	**(MI)**	**(MI)**
(DS)	**(DS)**	**(DS)**

APPENDIX X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC:PC/2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)-[the project started by] ...pure chance, it was not planned; serendipity -Thammasat heard [about ICDS projects] through AUCC and they contacted UBC -there is 100% faculty involvement [in our project] -These things [ICDS projects] have spin-offs. -A few [Thai] graduate students were attached to the department. program, but not to work on the ICDS project.	**(TA)**- Look at the list of theses for UBC to verify the impact [of these project] on students.	**(TA)**-Their experience in this project has enriched their contribution to rural development but I can't point to a new program.
(MI)- Thammasat were not with respect to academics... institutionalizing community planning -They wanted to learn in an experiential sense... what were the constraints on local action,what were the possibilities...they wanted to deepen their knowledge. -I see globalization as homgenization. Ideally schools need to develop an appropriate one-world perspective, understanding our interrelationships; it's different from globalization -During my rural visits [in Thailand] I saw penetration of the global market economy	**(MI)**-we are encouraging good policy-oriented research in the Third World -the Thai representatives were able to reflect at the level of conceptual thinking	**(MI)**- Social science can't deal with cause and effect -I believe centers [of excellence] can only do one thing well, but others feel we should meet national programs... [so] there's a struggle going on right now between regional, national and international focus in the department.

APPENDIX X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC:PC/2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(DS)- One of our colleagues was invited by the [Thai] government. to discuss concerns of rural governments. in Thailand -I think these are highly political animals we're dealing with here... I think they were interested in trying to understand what the possibilities were for grassroots organizations and action and development	**(DS)** -Thai teachers have limited time to publish due to the pressures of teaching and poor pay; some have a 2nd and 3rd job -My colleague and I were able to provide better research advice to our own graduate students through this experience dealing with Third World experiences -I have never reflected or published on this [comparative analysis of Thai District Council (Tambon) development and Canadian Indian bands] - they [the research connections] are there and they are profound but they will take time to understand and articulate	**(DS)**-A one-world view within the academic community will take time.Connections will be made with Canadian development. The most direct connection we made in Thailand was with our approach for community development with Indian bands and rural development in Thailand

Appendix X: Perceptions of Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: PC/3

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)-Original interest came from the Dominican Republic's [request] to assess their math levels. [Timms test was part of an international study supported by EFA movement].Dr. X [from UBC] worked on the international studies, so there was a joint interest -Canadian students visited the Dominican Republic,but their theses work was not connected specifically to the project.	**(TA)**	**(TA)**- Economic pressures have limited professors' ability to impact social change... in the Third World, professors work at two jobs. -There is no reward for people [Canadians] in the beginning or mid-career to become involved [in development in the Third World]
(MI)-The project was evaluated by assessing student achievement [in Math] after curriculum changes. - Papers were published on the work [the ICDS project] and presented at a Latin American conference -[impact of development experience UBC] professors now think differently about things but may not change their curriculum.	**(MI)**- The nature of universities is to promote individual research. We [education faculty] don't have a team. -Now it has to become a team orientation in order to maintain its viability, but I can't see it happen. Single-author papers count-joint author papers don't. It's the same for funding.	**(MI)**-Long-term, unless we get involved in the next step ,which is teacher education centers, any gains made are going to be eroded - education has a different view [of development] our role, our task. Our goal is to provide an opportunity for all... that's why I'm in education and not economics

Appendix X: Perceptions of Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: PC/3

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(DS)-The presence of Dominican Republic students added an international flavor to my graduate course... his perspective was a useful adjunct but I doubt if this [development discussion] would have happened without the presence of the international student... the influence of international students is greater at an informal level - The Dominican Republic project stimulated a lot of interest [in institutional linkages at the Latin American conference] - [the impact of the project on UBC] at the school level-almost certainly not; at the university level, teacher education programs have improved - I am no longer teaching but I can't say it altered the undergraduate program... there are some restraints of what you can do in an undergraduate program, but at a graduate level, there is more likelihood to incorporate an international focus [in teaching] because of the presence of international students - There are comparable educational circumstances-inequitable distribution of resources	**(DS)**-We need to communicate the value of a development research component [in ICDS projects] so that it is not just seen as a development project or a drain on resources. -If universities want to maintain the notion of research as being dominant, then it's essential that you show a research orientation in these kinds of projects -There are no incentives for collaborative efforts in educational research	**(DS)**-If they [Canadian universities, and CIDA] want to view these projects under the heading of community service then they will have to broaden their view of community. -I can't pin down the changes [to UBC] but that doesn't mean they're not there... from this one project there are already some benefits -The notion of being able in a 5-year. period to set up a center, cut ties and walk away is unrealistic... but in 15 years, we'll have a generation of students who have come through the curriculum process... but it is so dependent on economic forces and the individuals involved-unless the faculty or Department. commitment is there then it will collapse - Yes they can [universities as agents of social change]- they should in that educational and social policy is contacted with reality. - I would find it [international development] interesting if universities would not see it as one of their roles - from the point of view of their effectiveness, they [universities] are probably as effective as any other institutions.

Appendix X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: PC/4/A/2

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA) -The project was designed to give Canadian and international graduate students practical engineering experience in real settings	(TA)- A number of people returned to pursue a Masters or Phd later and they were much better prepared for academic study as a result of the previous educational experience.	(TA)
(MI)- Canadian graduate students deliver undergraduate lectures to Peruvian students in exchange for interaction with Third World engineers and participation in field projects. - the international students were asked to examine what the UBC engineering program had to offer in terms of facilities and programs and then given the opportunity to participate in classes and labs without credit -they [the international students gained skills and knowledge applicable to their needs... and the UBC staff was very receptive because there was no longer a problem of language or program relevance.	**(MI)**	(MI)- UBC didn't have to adapt or change its program to meet their [international students'] needs other than removing restrictions and providing them with access to education.
(DS)-It was a true partnership.	(DS)	(DS)-The overseas experience was relevant to the regional disparity in Canadian engineering settings.

N.B. The information contained in this Appendix was based on an informal survey of PC:4/A2. Content analysis of documents from three ICDS projects developed and coordinated by PC:4/A2 was used to supplement this survey because of an inability to participate in a formal interview due to his teaching and research schedule.

Appendix X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: PC/1

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA)- [the project] fell into place in an unplanned way.An international Graduate student/UBC link -we need to improve para-health professionals, not university education; encourage the powers that be to establish liaison with broad-based groups	**(TA)**- there was no research component- it was strictly teaching	**(TA)**- the project touched all islands but was largely focussed in Jamaica.
(MI)-local workshops using local people -There was a collegial relationship among Canadians, the host Faculty, staff, and workshop participants; -Radical approaches are a shock to [host] faculty and teachers.	**(MI)**	**(MI)**-the UBC staff went to them instead of paying for bringing them to a central location; [therefore] covered many more people
(DS)- less formal mechanisms promote change; - Change is something that needs to be institutionalized.	**(DS)**	**(DS)**-[as for the] sustainability of the program, there are seven trained professionals who will continue the program... and are highly talented as teachers; - leaders were largely from University of West Indies but also colleges and community programs -previous reliance was on U.S. books, now they are developing locally relevant health materials. - We equipped a medical resources unit. -the project provides opportunity for [UBC] faculty to teach skills in a new setting and to refine those skills -They [UBC] faculty] viewed it as a reward for contributions here [UBC] -UBC tends to focus on the Pacific Rim. My project was strictly development. These projects build the university's international reputation

Appendix X: Perceptions of University's Academic and Development Roles in ICDS Projects: UBC: IS/1

TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
(TA) -I worked in the Dominican Republic with the project, developing curriculum materials. -I was funded to come to UBC to do post-graduate work.	**(TA)** -International students [on the project] are not obliged to do research in relation to the project - I would like to do more research but funds are limited so I'll end up teaching.	**(TA)** -The function of Third World universities is to prepare students for work... but there is no incentive for further education overseas. You get paid the same when you get home - there is less [university] involvement in the community than in Canada
(MI)- The learning theories were very broad... the Practicum provided a setting for experience, so you're basically reproducing what you see. -The project needs to give more material on how to teach Math.	**(MI)**	**(MI)**- there are not many PhD's in the Dominican.Republic, so there are lower standards for qualifications.
(DS) - I didn't have any idea what to expect at the Master's level [but] now I'm more critical.	**(DS)**	**(DS)**

NB. This interview was conducted in conjunction with UBC: PC/3. who brought the student to the meeting to provide a student's view of the ICDS programs

APPENDIX XI: ICDS LINKAGES

INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPEMNT SERVICES PROGRAM (ICDS)

Based on a review of Canadian universities' involvement in ongoing linkages with Third World universities through the ICDS Branch of CIDA, as of July,1990, a total of $91 Million was committed to projects with 40 Canadian universities. Technically, Canadian universities can submit proposals for a maximum of $1 Million over a maximum of a five year period

The University of Alberta received a total of $2,972,000.00 for the implemetation of 6 projects,placing it in 11th place while the University of British Columbia received $2,955,000.00 for the implementation of 7 projects, placing it in 12th place out of the 40 ICDS funded Canadian universites. McGill University received the highest funding for ICDS projects, $7,265,000.00 for the implementation of 19 projects,which focus mainly on human resource development (HRD) in the Americas.

II. Summary of Distribution of the Top 12 ICDS Project Total Contributions (as of July, 1990)

1. McGill University	$7,265,000
2. Montreal University	$6,837,000
3. Dalhousie University	$5,175,000
4. University of Calgary	$5,141,000
5. Technical University of Nova Scotia	$5,125,000
6. Macdonald College of McGill University	$4,977,000
7. Guelph University	$4.471.000
8. Laval University	$4,705,000
9. University of Toronto	$3,799,000
10. University of Manitoba	$3,319,000
11. University of Alberta	$2,972,000
12. University of British Columbia	$2,955,000

Source: Ruggles, 1991.

Table 1: Three Models of Internationalization

MODEL	TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
CORPORATE/ MARKET MODEL G.Warner (1991) Market Model Newson & Buchbinder (1988) Service Model Maxwell & Currie (1984) Tool for Economic Growth **PERCEIVED SOURCE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT:** -In the context of the Third World, underdevelopment is attributed to internal social, economic and political factors , especially limited HRD -In the context of Canadian society, liberal expansion of higher education is perceived to have undermined academic excellence.	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** -academic elite -international students as a potential source of human capital for R&D, potential source of international economic and political links **THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -structural-functionalism: -increasing separation of teaching and research functions -over-emphasis of science & technology; -decline in support to Social Sciences and Humanities **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** Human capital and modernization theories are perceived as the most viable strategies for promoting academic excellence and economic competitiveness **WEAKNESS:** -commodification of knowledge -de-valuation of teaching' -elitist community service	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** university/business, university/ government, university/university partnerships **THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -applied research and development funded and strongly influenced by business and government interests -emphasis on science and technological innovation for global economic competitiveness **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** Modernization theory is supported for the promotion of global economic competitiveness and international R & D marketing **WEAKNESS:** -over-emphasis on applied research at the expense of pure research -technocratic rationalism reproduces dependency relationships	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** -the global community as a marketplace -national and international communities are competitors -increasing focus on NICs, the Pacific Rim, Eastern Europe, former Soviet Union **THEORY OF EDUCATION:** - structural-functionalism -academic elitism based on policy rationale of 'excellence' **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** -Human capital. modernization theories support increased privatization and aid-for-trade relationships **WEAKNESS:** -academic autonomy is weakened by economic pressures - university's academic and development roles are responsive rather than reflective, thus reproducing social and economic inequalities

TABLE 1: Three Models of Internationalization

MODEL	TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
LIBERAL-TECHNOCRATIC MODEL Brandt (1984) Winegard (1987) G. Warner (1992) Harari (1992)	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** equality of educational opportunity in policy, but discriminatory in practice	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** - university/business /government partnerships	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** -cooperative interdependence in the global community in policy, but service mainly to NICS, Pacific Rim, Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union in practice
PERCEIVED SOURCE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: -underdevelopment, is caused by uneven economic growth and A lack of HRD, therefore aid is linked to trade to promote global economic growth -underdevelopment is perceived as a threat to global peace and security	**THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -progressivist in policy, but functionalist in practice -ethnocentric awareness of culture results in over-emphasis on student exchanges, cultural performances as key strategies for internationalization.	**THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -joint applied research directed by business & government interests -emphasis on scientific and technological innovation	**THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -progressivist in policy, but mainly functionalist in practice. - conflicting academic goals: cooperation vs competition -divergent paradigms peace education, development, international education
	DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: HRD, Modernization theories guide teaching practices in institutional partnerships	**DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** -HRD and Modernization theories are used to promote economic and social development through R&D partnerships	**DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** -HRD, Modernization theories guide HRD and institution-building practices.
	WEAKNESS: -inherent conflict between ideologies of development, international education and capitalist ideologies and practices	**WEAKNESS:** -over-emphasis of technocratic rationalism and aggressive marketing of Western R & D reproduces dependency relationships	**WEAKNESS:** inherent contradictions between global cooperation &economic competitiveness reformist polices do not address structural inequalities

MODEL	TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION MODEL Castles & Wustenberg (1979) Freire (1921) Selby (1988) Toh (1993) **PERCEIVED SOURCE OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT:** -domination of capitalist ideology -structural inequalities lack of critical reflection -lack of empowerment and social action in education	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** -the global society **THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -progressivism -relative holism -conscientization -integrative, liberating and participatory curriculum educators as role-models **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** -liberatory education for personal empowerment and emancipatory social action **WEAKNESS:** -limitations of promoting social transformation through functionalist & heirarchical social, economic and political structures	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** -the global community in policy, but still a strong dependence on positivist, Western research **THEORY OF EDUCATION:** - in policy, cooperative research to address social,economic political and environmental issues -in practice, limited indigenous research opportunities **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** -research on social action for social, economic and environmental integrity **WEAKNESS:** -marginalization of teaching faculty by over-emphasis on R & D -inherent conflict with economic rationalism	**TARGET AUDIENCE:** the global community **THEORY OF EDUCATION:** -progressivism, conscientization, social justice integrates social action within local, national and international communities **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY:** -attempts to address structural inequalities through emancipatory, and participatory educational practices **WEAKNESS:** - competition among special interest groups results in fragmentation of development community -traditional isolation of universities from local communities limits impact

Table 2: COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTION OF EIP PROJECTS: 1991

AGENCY	LLDCs	LOW INCOME	MIDDLE INCOME	UPPER-MIDDLE INCOME
UBC: 4.8% of EIP Links			Thailand (1) Peru (1) Dominican Rep 1 Jamaica (1)	Mexico (1)
U. of A.: 6.3% of EIP Links	Nepal (1)	Uganda (1) Kenya (1) Guyana(1)	Indonesia (1) Thailand (1) Cameroon (1) Namibia (1)	
TOTAL EIP LINKS: 126	Burundi(1) Nepal(2) Coromos (1) Togo (1) Bangladesh (3) Bhutan (1) Ethiopia (2) Malawi(2) Tanzania (2) Gambia (1) Sudan (1) Haiti (3) TOTAL: 20 projects (15.9%)	Zaire (1) Franco-Africa 1) India (9) Sri Lanka (3) Kenya (6) Ghana (3) Uganda (2) East Africa (1) Swaziland (1) Costa Rica (4) St. Lucie (2) Bolivia (1) Guyana (3) Ghana (3) TOTAL: 40 projects (31.8 %)	Ivory Coast (2) Tunisia (3) Morocco (4) Cameroon (1) Indonesia (2) Thailand (1) Papua, NG (1) Fiji (1) Namibia (1) Egypt (5) Nigeria (3) Gaza Strip (2) Jordan (2) Zimbabwe (2) Peru (6) Columbia (3) Jamaica (3) Anguilla (2) St. Vinc/Agro 1) Antigua (1) Barbados (1) Belize (1) Caribbean Reg 1) TOTAL: 54 PROJECTS (42.8%)	Algeria (1) Malaysia (2) South Africa (2) Brazil (5) Mexico (2) TOTAL: 12 projects (9.5%)

SOURCES: adapted from EIP(1992) Education and Training Report. Ottawa: CIDA; UBC (1992) UBC International Agreements/Linkages. Vancouver: UBC; U of A (1992) International Directory. Edmonton: Alberta International

Note: LLDC denotes CIDA designation for least developed countries

Table 3: CIDA-Funded Students Studying in Canada: Special Programs Branch 1989

Field of Study	Special Programs Branch			Field of Study Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Accounting & Auditing	1	0	1	20	13	33
Agricultural, Animal, Husbandry	39	17	56	342	96	438
Architecture	0	0	0	11	5	16
Arts & Humanities	0	0	0	27	24	51
Communications	3	1	4	25	10	35
Computer Science	2	3	5	111	40	151
Custom & Excise	0	0	0	0	0	0
Economics	1	1	2	111	33	144
Education	27	9	36	106	58	164
Energy	1	0	1	13	0	13
Engineering & Technology	28	16	44	744	58	802
Environment	8	1	9	45	12	57
Geography	1	0	1	19	7	26
Geology, Mining, Metallurgy	6	1	7	73	9	82
Finance & Credit	11	5	16	37	10	47
Fisheries	3	0	0	18	5	23
Forestry	0	0	0	106	13	119
Health & Nutrition	16	12	28	73	83	156
Human Settlements; Urban P.	1	3	4	39	23	62
International Trade	0	0	0	5	2	7
Languages & Linguistics	8	9	17	15	24	39
Law	7	2	9	17	6	23
Management & Administration	33	18	51	338	175	513
Mathematics & Statistics	6	1	7	50	7	57
Natural Sciences	18	13	31	152	55	207
Secretarial & Clerical	0	0	0	0	17	17
Social Sciences	18	10	28	44	42	86
Surveying	0	0	0	36	1	37
Tourism, Hotel, Man., Catering	2	1	3	12	23	35
Transportation	0	0	0	8	1	9
Not Known	0	0	0	3	7	10
Other	45	18	63	51	22	73
Multi-course	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	285	141	426	2,651	881	3,532

SOURCE: Adapted from CIDA Technical Cooperation Unit, Sept. 1990. In CIDA (1991) Education and Training.

TABLE 4: SUMMARY OF CIDA/ ICDS PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES' ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

AGENCIES	TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE	DOMINANT INTERNATIONAL -IZATION MODEL
CIDA	(TA) -increased focus on E. Europe, -NIC's, - decline in support to LDCs	(TA) focus on E.Europe &NICs, Pacific Rim	(TA) *shift from Third World to E. Europe, NICs	(TA) perception of LDCs, NICs, and E. Europe & former Soviet Union as potential economic markets
	(MI) corporate model: Functionalist, meritocratic, technocratic: -consultancy -emphasis on knowledge/ technology transfer -management/ admin. training, -institution-building	(MI) corporate model: -joint research -emphasis on R&D through business/ university partnerships	(MI) corporate model: Functionalist -formal education with emphasis on PhD production - nonformal education : :emphasis on development of the private sector	(MI) corporate model functionalist, meritocratic and technocratic; -education as a tool for development of human capital; applied research for economic development & international competitiveness -marketing Canadian HRD
	(DS) -HRD, -Human Capital -Modernization	(DS) -modernization	(DS) Liberal-democratic reform through-HRD, SAP's, bilateral aid	(DS)-emphasis on the business of development; linking aid and trade to re-stabilize international economic order -

AGENCY	TEACHING	RESEARCH	COMMUNITY SERVICE	INTERNATIONAL-IZATION MODEL
ICDS	(TA) liberal-democratic: emphasis on NICs, decline in service to LDCs	* research is not a designated component of ICDS programs	(TA) corporate: * shift of emphasis to E. Europe -increased service to NIC's -majority of programs are run in urban settings	LIBERAL (TA) * shift to E. Europe, former Soviet Union, NICs -global cooperation
	(MI) liberal-democratic: Functionalist, meritocratic, technocratic, education -emphasis on HRD of senior admin. / management teacher-training, short-term workshops, consultancies, output of Masters & PhDs		(MI) liberal-democratic: Functionalist, technocratic education -indirect service to rural communities through Health, Education, Sc./Technology Management/ Admin. Training programs	(MI) liberal-democratic functionalist, meritocratic and technocratic education -collaborative partnerships', educational exchanges, joint research
	(DS) -HRD, institution-building -modernization - emphasis on collaborative partnerships with public & private sectors, institutional linkages		(DS) liberal-democratic: democratic reform & economic development through HRD, modernization strategies	(DS) global interdependence requires liberal democratic reform , through HRD, modernization - democracy, pluralism to support social economic development.

TABLE 5: Comparison of Regional Distribution of U of A Institutional Linkages:1992

GEOGRAPHIC REGION	AFRICA	ASIA PACIFIC	AMERICAS/ CARIBBEAN	EUROPE/ MIDDLE EAST U.K.,RUSSIA
LLDC LINKS TOTAL: 12 (14.3%)		BANGLADESH(1) CHINA (10) NEPAL (1)*		
LDC/NIC LINKS TOTAL:29 (34.5%)	CAMEROON (1)* KENYA (1)* NAMIBIA (1)* ZIMBABWE (1)* UGANDA (1)*	INDONESIA(1)* KOREA(10) THAILAND(9)	ARGENTINA(1) GUYANA (1) JAMAICA/, BELIZE(1)*	IRAN (1)
'NORTH' LINKS TOTAL:40 (47.6%)		AUSTRALIA (4) JAPAN (18)		AUSTRIA (1) BELGIUM(1) FINLAND(1) FRANCE (1) NETHERLANDS(1) SWEDEN (5) U. K. (6) USA (2)
OTHER TOTAL:3				RUSSIA (1) UKRAINE (2)
TOTAL LINKS:84	5 (5.9%)	54 (64.3%)	3 (3.6%)	22 (26.2%)

SOURCE: adapted from CIDA (1991) Education & Training: Alberta Internal (1992)International Directory
NOTE: *-denotes ICDS projects;Other denotes countries which do not fit within CIDA's current definitions of development

Table 6: Summary of the Regional Distribution of International Students Attending U of A 1992-93

ASIA PACIFIC	AFRICA	.AMERICAS &. CARIBBEAN	U.K.EUROPE, MIDDLE EAST
China (193)*	Ghana (34)	USA (50)	Germany (13)
Hong Kong (371)	Kenya (39)	Mexico (3)	Iran (40)
Singapore (50)	South Africa (5)	Brazil (5)	Israel (7)
India (75)	Zimbabwe (8)	Argentina (5)	Iceland (1)
Malaysia (128)	Nigeria (15)	Columbia (3)	Norway (1)
Japan (10)	Egypt (15)	Peru (2)	Sweden (12)
Australia (15)	Ethiopia (9)*	Venezuela (3)	France (6)
Indonesia (12)	Zambia (2)	Trinidad (11)	Turkey (10)
Taiwan (5)	Tanzania (12)	Barbados (1)	Yugoslavia (5)
New Zealand (6)	Tunisia (1)	El Salvador (8)	Netherlands (7)
Korea (22)	Sudan (1)*	Guyana (3)	Switzerland (2)
Thailand (20)	Uganda (4)	Costa Rica (2)	Denmark (2)
Sri Lanka (13)	Botswana (6)*	Chile (27)	Spain (4)
Philippines (7)	Lesotho(1)*	Jamaica (2)	Greece (6)
Pakistan (5)	Sierra Leone (3)*	Guatamala (1)	Libya (1)
Bangladesh (8)	Swaziland (3)	Nicaragua (1)	Ireland (5)
Fiji(1)	Malawi (3)*		Italy (7)
Papua, New Guinea (1)	Mali (1)*	TOTAL: 127 (8.3%)	Mauritius (4)
Macau (6)	Cameroon (1)		Hungary (3)
Nepal (8)*	Tunisia (1)		Austria (2)
Vietnam (21)	TOTAL:165 (10.8%)		Lebanon (1)
Brunei (6)			Czechoslovakia (9)
Algeria (4)			Poland (6)
TOTAL: 1007 (65.9%)			Portugal (11)
			Finland (1)
			Russia (13)
			Germany DDR (13)
			Bulgaria (9)
			Jordan (1)
			Iraq(1)
			Romania (1)
			Kuwait (2)
			Belgium (2)
			Afghanistan (3)
			Scotland (4)
			Northern Ireland (1)
			Oman (2)
			Burundi (1)
			TOTAL:230 (15%)

SOURCES: adapted from the U of A(1992) International Centre Student Enrollment Statistics

Table 7: Summary of the Development Roles of U of A ICDS Projects,1992

UA:PC1/A2	UA:PC2	UA:PC3/A3	UA:PC4/A4
ODA 1:. Poverty Alleviation	ODA 1	ODA 1	ODA 1
ODA2: Sustainable Development multiplier effect through teacher-training, curriculum material development	ODA 2 multiplier effect: teacher training curriculum materials development	ODA 2 multiplier effect: faculty upgrading & training, Practicum experience programs in the Third World and Canada collaborative research curriculum material development	ODA 2 Third World research capacity development Women in Development seminars
ODA 3: Development. priorities HRD institution-building	ODA 3 HRD institution-building	ODA 3 HRD institution building	ODA 3 HRD Women in Development institution-building
ODA 4: Partnerships individual Department member exchanges collaborative workshops	ODA 4 Third World Ministry of Education/ teacher college and UA Faculty individual Department member exchange to the Third World	ODA 4 collaborative network established among UA / Third World Faculties, Third World government agencies and community programs on two islands faculty exchange	ODA 4 UA Department/Third World Department individual Dept. member exchange UA student exchange
LIBERAL MODEL	LIBERAL MODEL	LIBERAL.	LIBERAL MODEL

SOURCE: Alberta International(1992) International Directory; UA program coordinators' interviews (1991-1993)

Table 8: Regional Distribution of UBC International Linkage Projects 1992

GEOGRAPHIC REGION	AFRICA	ASIA/PACIFIC	AMERICAS/ CARIBBEAN	EUROPE, MIDDLE.EAST RUSSIA, U.K.
LLDCs TOTAL:30 (21.4%)	Ethiopia (1)*	China (29)*		
LDCS/NICS TOTAL:77 (55%)	Africa (3) IDRC, CIDA Ghana (1) Kenya (9) Tanzania (1) Uganda(1) Zimbabwe (1)	ASEAN (7) Fiji (1) Hong Kong (2) India (5) Indonesia (6) Malay (1) Malaysia (1) Nepal (3)* Pakistan (1) Philippines(2) Singapore(1) South Pacific (1) Thailand(12)(1)* Vietnam (2)	Brazil (3) W.Indies (1)* Cuba (1) D.Repub.(3)(1) Mexico (2)* Peru(8)	
'NORTH' LINKS TOTAL:16 (11.4%)		Japan (11)	Canada(5)	
OTHER: N.B. TOTAL:17 (12.1%).				
TOTAL LINKS:	17 (12.1%)	85 (60.7%)	19 (13.6%)	

NOTE: Other: UBC operates 17 International Projects that cover a wide geographic and disciplinary range; 4 projects focus on science and technology, 2 projects deal with Human Settlements, 6 projects are related to International Relations, Business and Management and training programs and 3 projects focus on Education.

Table 9: Regional Distribution of International Students in UBC:1992

ASIA/ PACIFIC RIM	AFRICA	THE AMERICAS	EUROPE/U.K. MIDDLE. EAST
	6 (Tanzania)	262 (USA)	
390 (China)	19 (Kenya)	23 (Mexico)	183 U. Kingdom
212(Hong Kong)	22 (Ghana)	16 (Brazil)	59 (Ger.DFR)
71(India)	10 (Nigeria	13 (Argentina)	23 (Iran)
64 (Japan)	16 (Zimbabwe)	8 (Colombia)	12 (Norway)
73 (Singapore)	7 (Egypt)	2 (Trinidad/To.)	6 (Spain)
35 (Indonesia)	7) Ethiopia*	5 (Peru)	7 (Switzerland)
44(Australia)	7 (Zambia)	5 (Venezuela)	14 (Israel)
28 (Korea)	2 (Uganda)	2 (Barbados)	12 (Sweden)
34(Taiwan)	2 (Niger)*	2 (Bahamas)	14(Iceland)
23(Sri Lanka)	2 (Malta)*	1 (Guyana)	11(France)
29(N. Zealand)	6 (Tunisia)	1 (Belize)	5 (Ireland)
5 (Philippines)	1(Botswana)*	1 (Costa Rica)	9 (Netherlands)
4 (Pakistan)	2 (Sudan)*	1(Chile)	6 (Greece)
1 (Fiji)	1(Lesotho)*	1 (Dom.. Rep.)	9 (Yugoslavia)
1 (N. Guinea)	1 (S. Leone)*	1(Cuba)	5 (Italy)
1 (Macau)	1 (Upper Volta)	3(Grenada)	10 (Turkey)
3 (Brunei)	1(Rwanda)*	2 (Jamaica)	7 (Denmark)
		1(Bolivia)	6 (Libya)
TOTAL:1116	Total: 125		5 (Mauritius)
(55.6%)	(6.1%)	Total:347	5 (Hungry)
		(16.9%)	3 (S. Arabia)
			4 (Poland)
			1 (Jordan)
			4 (Lebanon)
			10 (Finland)
			3 (Portugal)
			4(Czechoslovakia
			3 (Brunei)
			2 (Syria)
			1 (Iraq)
			4 (Austria)
			2(Russia)
			2 (Ger.DDR)
			1 (Bahrain)
			2 (Bulgaria)
			1 (Cyprus)
			1(Kuwait)
			Total:458
			(22.4%)

SOURCE: UBC DIRECTORY OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS 1987-1992

Table 10: Summary of UBC ICDS Projects and ODA

ODA OBJECTIVES	UBC/PC:1	UBC/PC:2	UBC/PC:3	UBC/PC4/2
POVERTY ALLEVIATION	community healthcare development			physical infrastructure development: roads, water
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT	paraprofessional healthcare training indigenous health curriculum development equipment of a medical resource	rural development of political Councils	teacher training curriculum development resource library	student training professional upgrading seminars Practicum/field experiences in rural settings community links
CIDA DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES	Basic healthcare HRD / paraprofessional training rural community participation	human rights democratic reform HRD institution-building	upgrade primary education delivery HRD teachers	technology transfer building physical infrastructure HRD Engineering students Faculty & practicing professionals
PARTNERSHIPS	UA faculty/ Third World faculty urban & rural Healthcare professionals community healthcare program links	UBC Faculty/ Third World gov't agencies rural community advisory councils	international education coordination of math education UBC Faculty/ Third World government	UBC students, Faculty /B.C. Engineering professionals UBC students, Faculty/ Third world students, Faculty & professionals rural community links
MODEL OF INTERNATIONAL-IZATION	LIBERAL	LIBERAL /SOC. TRANS	LIBERAL	LIBERAL /SOC. TRANS.

SOURCE: UBC program coordinators' interviews; ICDS project documents.